A HISTORY OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION

"THE TRANSFIGURATION" BY RAPHAEL

A History of Western Civilization

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To
EUGENE MORROW VIOLETTE

PREFACE

This volume is intended for use as a text for the second semester of courses in the history of civilization. While an enormous amount of interesting and instructive material, of necessity, has been omitted or greatly condensed, it is hoped that the major movements of modern European history have been adequately treated. No effort has been made to deal with America's part in the development of western civilization since this task has been reserved for a subsequent volume.

In view of the rapid and significant changes in contemporary Europe, the author perhaps can be pardoned for his hesitancy to venture a substantial treatment of post-war history.

C. E. S.

BATON ROUGE, OCT. 28, 1936

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BOOK ONE
THE RENAISSANCE

I

ECONOMIC CHANGES DURING THE RENAISSANCE

The word *renaissance* means rebirth or revival and is usually applied to the transition from medieval to modern methods of study and thought. Traditionally the Renaissance is that period of European history from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, marking a distinct break with the preceding centuries or "Dark Ages." In this older, more specific sense, the Renaissance is that intellectual movement originating in Italy marked by a revival of interest in Grecian and Roman civilization. Such a definition disregards the developments in the revival of science, growth of nationalism, geographical discovery and exploration, and economic change. This older interpretation of the Renaissance has given way to the view that there was no distinct break between medieval and modern history; that the change from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance began in the eleventh century, largely as a consequence of the contact of western with eastern civilization. Knowledge did not disappear during the so-called "Dark Ages," although the period was characterized by intellectual lethargy. The Germanic invasions of the Roman Empire had checked the work of civilization begun by the Greeks and the Romans; the great contribution of the Middle Ages was the assimilation of these barbarians into European civilization. The Renaissance merely accelerated certain changes in European civilization which had begun in the eleventh century: the emergence of nationalism, the idea of representative government, the rise of towns, and the beginning of the gild system. Intellectually, the period is characterized by the rise of universities, the evolution of Gothic architecture, and a characteristic medieval art.

The Renaissance may be divided into two major phases, the Progressive and the Regressive. The Progressive phase was characterized by a definite moving forward and manifested itself in economic

changes and scientific advance; the Regressive phase, by a moving backward to the classical civilizations of Greece and Rome, manifested itself in art and literature.

The Progressive phase influenced every aspect of economic activity—agricultural, commercial, and industrial. In agriculture the basic change was the breakdown of the manorial system, the economic basis of feudalism. This change was rapid in England but slow in the other countries of Europe; it did not occur in Russia until the freeing of the serfs by Czar Alexander II in 1861. The chief changes in the manorial system during the Renaissance were: (1) The disappearance of serfdom. This medieval institution collapsed because of its inefficiency and unprofitableness, and from the acute scarcity of labor following the Black Death which swept over Europe during the middle of the fourteenth century. (2) The beginning of the enclosure movement, or the fencing of land, particularly common grazing land, for sheep pasturage. During the Middle Ages the peasant lived on a bare subsistence level. Often the difference between living and starvation was the dairy products which the peasant secured from pasturing his cows on the common grazing lands. With the advent of the enclosure system, the commons were the first lands to be fenced. Now the peasant faced shorter rations, starvation, or removal to the cities in the hope of securing employment. (3) The specialization of crops and production of agricultural surpluses through improved methods of agricultural technique. The fundamental effect of these agricultural changes was to free the rural laborers from the soil. These displaced workers were forced to migrate to the urban centers, where their influx contributed to the breakdown of the gild system, and in England to a dislocation of the representation in the House of Commons.

During the Renaissance, the horizon of Western Europe was further widened by the Commercial Revolution which began the overseas expansion of Europe to the Americas, Asia, and Africa. Down to the fifteenth century, European life centered about the Mediterranean; the Italian cities dominated the commerce of Western Europe. The Commercial Revolution of the fifteenth and sixteenth

centuries, however, shifted the commercial balance of power from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, and Portugal, Spain, England, and the Netherlands supplanted the Italian cities as the leaders of the economic life of the Continent. This new commercial movement called for more extensive voyages; this led to discovery and exploration. No significant contributions had been made to geographical knowledge by western civilization in the period from the fall of Rome to the time of the crusades. This was due primarily to the general disorganization following the barbarian invasions and the fall of the Western Roman Empire. During the Middle Ages, the total volume of long-distance trade decreased, each area tending to become self-sufficient. Thus little stimulus was given to discovery and exploration. The influence of the church had contributed to the decline of investigation and inquiry, and as a consequence scientific geography had been supplanted by "Biblical geography," in which the religious influence predominated.

It was the crusades which brought the west again into contact with the east, revived the intercontinental trade and the latent interest in the orient, and gave an impetus to geographical inquiry. During the thirteenth century Europeans began to penetrate into Eastern Asia. The rise of the great Mongol Empire, stretching from China to Russia, made it possible for westerners to go into the unknown east with some degree of ease and safety. The most famous of these travelers was Marco Polo (1254-1324), a Venetian merchant, who made an adventurous journey through the heart of Asia to the court of the Mongol ruler, Kublai Khan, at Peking. From 1271 to 1295, Marco Polo remained in the east. He became a favorite of the Grand Khan, entered his service, and thus possessed an excellent opportunity to secure a vast store of information about the country. After his return to Europe the story of this journey was written under his direction as *The Book of Ser Marco Polo.* This work became the most popular travel book of the Middle Ages and aroused the interest of Europeans in the orient. Marco Polo's information about the east did much to dispel general misconceptions of that region. The work of other travelers and explorers accelerated the pace of

geographical inquiry, culminating in a veritable golden age of discovery in the fifteenth century.

It was the needs of commerce which largely accounted for these expeditions and voyages. Since the time of the Romans, Western Europe had depended upon the east as the source of its luxuries. Spices, such as pepper, cloves, cinnamon, nutmeg, and ginger, were needed to preserve fresh meats and to make foods more palatable in those days before the advent of refrigerating processes. All kinds of drugs (like camphor and laudanum), gums, dyes, fragrant woods, precious stones, fine fabrics, porcelains, and perfumes were imported from the orient. In payment for these goods, Europe was forced to export precious metals, for the greater part of her products, with the exception of Italian wines and Flemish woolens, were too bulky to be transported profitably to the east.

This intercontinental trade followed three principal routes. The first, in the north, led from the highlands of Asia by caravan and river and the Caspian and Black seas to Constantinople. The second was a middle journey which led directly across Asia to Damascus, thence through Persia and Syria to Antioch, Acre, and other Syrian ports. To the south, lay the third and the cheapest of these routes along the southern shore of Asia, up the Red Sea to the Isthmus of Suez, thence by caravan to the Nile, and down this river to Alexandria. All of these routes were long and dangerous. This danger, together with the tolls and duties levied upon the goods at various places on the journey, increased the prices of the merchandise several fold. Since the time of the crusades this eastern trade had been monopolized by the merchants from Venice and Genoa. These Italian towns established trading stations in the east which became the outposts of a flourishing commercial life. This control was regarded with disfavor by such rising nationalistic states as Portugal, which wished to share in this profitable trade and free herself of dependence upon Italy. Other factors contributed to the breaking of this monopoly. The decline of the Mongol Empire, which had given some encouragement and support to trade, made it increasingly difficult to keep open the overland trade routes. To the south, the

advance of the Ottoman Turks into Southeastern Europe placed restrictions upon the free movement of goods. As a consequence, the belief became prevalent that a shorter, all-water route to the Indies, free from Italian control, could be found. Such a route would allow the participation of other countries in the eastern trade and would cheapen the prices on those commodities which were rapidly ceasing to be luxuries and becoming necessities of life.

Several reasons may be seen for this great interest in geographical inquiry. Such a movement was tied up with the intellectual currents of the time; *secularization* is the one word that explains this. Under the influence of the Renaissance the old ascetic ideal gave way before man's interest in secular affairs. Such an interest led to discovery and exploration as an outlet to satisfy the curiosity about the world. This breakdown of intellectual barriers came as a consequence of that feverish search for truth which characterized the Renaissance. The desire for profit was probably the strongest motive which sent men out to discover, explore, and colonize distant lands. From this came the immediate profit of gold, silver, precious stones, etc., which the explorer hoped to find in new regions. But more important still was the ultimate profit which accrued from the use of colonies as sources of raw materials and as markets for manufactured goods. An integral part of this belief was the spirit of nationalism which was growing stronger in Europe. No longer was nationalism confined to the political phase; it now was extended into the economic sphere as well. Out of this grew the theory of mercantilism, which as an economic philosophy may be compared with the theory of absolutism in the political sphere. The object of the mercantilists was the creation of an industrial and commercial state in which private and sectional interests should be encouraged or forced to promote national self-sufficiency. This doctrine emphasized industry and foreign trade, rather than agriculture and domestic trade, as sources of national wealth. The mercantilists believed that the prosperity of a nation was in proportion to the amount of money in circulation within the country, and that the balance of trade was the true index of a nation's prosperity. They urged, therefore, that trade should be conducted

so as to attract the largest possible amount of precious metals and to keep a favorable balance in international trade. This could be done by encouraging exports and discouraging imports. Large and flourishing colonies were a necessity for the success of this system, since they offered good sources of raw materials and markets for manufactured goods. The mother country attempted to prevent other countries from trading with her colonies, and at the same time restricted colonial manufactures. Portugal and Spain took the leadership in the acquisition of colonies, to be followed later by England, France, and the Netherlands. The Christian missionaries were in the vanguard of this movement—the shock troops of imperialism. Missionary zeal compensated the church for the failure of the crusades, but it was put to a more ulterior and mercenary use by the traders and merchants who capitalized upon the work of these Christian leaders in penetrating into unknown lands. The spirit of adventure was also a great motivating force. New lands were discovered, explored, and colonized by restless spirits who were tired of the humdrum life of the Old World. It has been said that the three *G's* (gold, glory, and God) constituted the basic reasons for this great interest in discovery and exploration which swept over Europe during the Renaissance period.

The Commercial Revolution was preceded or accompanied by numerous aids to exploration. It is impossible to determine whether such developments came as a consequence of the widespread interest in navigation, or *vice versa.* The most important invention was the mariner's compass, introduced into Europe in the twelfth century. The magnetic needle had been known for centuries, but the great contribution of the Renaissance was the mounting of the needle on a card as the pivot compass. This invention freed the sailors from their dependence upon the stars and landmarks, lessening the dangers of navigation when these natural guides were invisible. The astrolabe, a device to calculate latitude by observation of the height of the sun above the horizon, was introduced into Europe probably through the Arabs. The quadrant, a simpler device, later supplanted the astrolabe. The invention of the barometer (Torricelli's Tube) was another

aid to the mariner. The chief navigation device lacking at this time was the chronometer, or a suitable mechanical means of measuring time.

With the increase in shipping, chart and map making became an important science. Toscanelli (1397-1482), an Italian, and Müller (1436-1476), a German, were two great geographers during the Renaissance. Toscanelli believed that the Indies could be reached by a westward voyage across the Atlantic, and even Columbus secured geographical advice from him. The most significant contribution to cartography during the Commercial Revolution was by Mercator (1512-1594), a Flemish geographer, whose projection of the sphere of the earth on a flat surface enabled navigators to steer by compass in a straight line and not in a spiral as necessitated by the spherical projections of his time. Manuals were prepared giving information of land and water routes, tides, currents, etc., for the benefit of travelers and sailors. Often, however, the information contained in these books was based upon imagination and hearsay and not upon actual knowledge. Ships were made larger and more seaworthy to accommodate more passengers and larger cargoes. In the designing and construction of new types of ships, Venice with her carracks, Portugal with her caravels, and Spain with her galleons, took the lead in Western Europe. The vessels were made narrower and higher to increase their speed and seaworthiness. Improvements were made in the rudder, and the practice of keeping a ship's log was introduced.

The Italian cities in the Mediterranean Basin and the Hansa towns of the North and Baltic Seas had dominated European commerce for centuries preceding the Commercial Revolution. During the fifteenth century the Hansa towns were declining; Venice, the leading maritime city of Italy, was struggling to retain her trade in the Near East against the rising power of the Ottoman Turks. Venice's greatest rival, however, lay to the west and not to the east. In the Iberian Peninsula two rising nationalistic states, Portugal and Spain, were preparing to challenge Italian domination of the oriental trade. They lacked maritime experience and prestige, and were confronted with the problem of discovering new routes to the east free

from Venetian control. It is significant that Portugal, Spain, and England drew heavily upon Italian maritime knowledge during their periods of discovery and exploration. Columbus in the service of Spain, Cabot under the English flag, and Amerigo Vespucci for Portugal and Spain, were adventurous spirits from Italy who might have remained in the service of their states if they had taken part in this western maritime movement. But the Italian cities, because of their geographical position in the Mediterranean and their trade ties with the east, were precluded from participating in any commercial movements outside the Mediterranean area. Portugal, Spain, and England possessed no such restraining trade ties, and their geographical position faced to the west and not to the east.

Portugal was the first modern European state to found an overseas empire. This expansion beyond Europe was a continuation of that crusading spirit which had led to the expulsion of the Mohammedans from Portugal; the first colonial acquisition was the Moorish city of Ceuta in Morocco (1415). Portuguese enthusiasts for discovery, exploration and conquest found ready support in the patronage of Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460), a younger son of King John I. Rich, unmarried, and free from the cares of state, Prince Henry was able to devote his time and fortune to the promotion of navigation. He drew around him a group of intelligent and highly skilled mariners, scientists, and geographers. While showing this active interest in expansion, he did not make voyages himself but preferred to remain at home to guide and direct the navigators. The first results were unimportant. Under Prince Henry's direction the Portuguese rediscovered and colonized the Madeiras and the Azores and discovered the Cape Verde Islands. This was a part of the search for a better knowledge of the Western Ocean and for a seaway along the unexplored coast of Africa to the "Western Nile" (Senegal River), then eastward to the mythical Christian kingdom of "Prester John" in Ethiopia, and ultimately to the Indies. The timid Portuguese mariners did not venture far from shore; but year by year they crept southward, discovering and exploring miles of the African coastline. The discovery of the luxuriant Cape Verde in

1445 dispelled the belief that only parched deserts and uninhabitable lands lay to the southward. Pushing onward, the explorers reached the Guinea Coast. The wealth of this region in gold, slaves, and ivory caused the cessation of further geographical discovery until this land could be exploited. The pope, to whom was accorded the right to dispose of newly discovered lands and their heathen inhabitants, granted to the Portuguese these regions and any further discoveries they should make. These pious Christians soon made enormous fortunes by selling the benighted heathen into European slavery in order to convert them.

The death of Prince Henry in 1460 weakened, but did not check, the impulse given by him to navigation. Although the patronage of the royal house declined, intrepid sailors pushed on down the African coast until, at last, in 1486, Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope. Any further progress was prevented by a mutiny of his crew, forcing him to return home in 1487. This voyage, however, dispelled the current ideas of the impracticability of reaching the Indies by a maritime route around Africa. Active interest in this projected all-water route to the east languished until the discovery of America in 1492 spurred the Portuguese into activity. Finally, in 1497, Vasco da Gama sailed from Lisbon to Calicut, making the first all-water trip from Europe to India. His return home with a rich cargo of spices caused the jubilant merchants to take immediate steps to profit from this contact with the orient. Under the able leadership of such men as Almeida and Albuquerque, the Portuguese broke the control of the spice trade held for centuries by the Arabs in the east and the Venetians in the west. The vigorous opposition of the Arabs was effectively crushed in a series of naval encounters. Commercial treaties were made with the natives; trading posts, such as Goa and Diu, were established, and strategic points fortified to protect the approach to the Spice Islands. It was the islands such as the Moluccas, and not India, which constituted the chief source of spices. Lisbon now superseded Venice as the great distributing center for eastern products; Portugal retained a virtual monoply of this trade until it was seized by the Dutch in the seventeenth century.

The Spaniards were slower than the Portuguese in entering upon maritime discovery. For centuries Spain had been troubled with the internal problem of the Moors—a people who differed from her inhabitants in race, language, customs, and religion. National unity was consequent upon the expulsion of the Moors; interest in discovery and exploration, upon the achievement of national unity. In 1492, however, the last remnant of the Moors were driven from the peninsula across to Africa. Spain now prepared to participate in the Commercial Revolution, but owing to Portuguese control of the sea lanes around Africa to the east—a control that was bolstered by papal sanction—she was forced to look westward for a possible opening. After Diaz's voyage, it became apparent that a route from Portugal to India via the Cape would be unduly long; da Gama's voyage confirmed this belief.

Erroneous ideas so beclouded the infinitesimal bits of geographical knowledge of the time that no comprehensive program of exploration could be carried out as originally projected until a clear, scientific idea of the world was evolved. A misconception of the time, popularized by geographers and dramatized by the voyages of Columbus, was that the Indies lay only a few thousands of miles off the western coast of Europe. A comparatively short journey would land the adventurous navigator into the lap of the Indies. Two erroneous beliefs fostered this error. First, for thirteen hundred years Europeans had accepted Ptolemy's calculation of the size of the earth; this reckoning was too small by one-sixth (4,000 miles). Second, Marco Polo's estimate exaggerated the distance from Europe to China. These two errors contributed to the belief that the Indies lay only three or four thousands of miles across the Atlantic from Europe. Geographers were gradually accepting the idea of the sphericity of the earth and the feasibility of reaching the Spice Islands by sailing westward.

These ideas, correct and erroneous alike, received acceptance in the mind of Christopher Columbus, a Genoese sailor and diligent student of the scientific writings of his time. Poverty forced him to seek the aid of some wealthy patron to finance his proposed

voyage to the Indies. No such aid was forthcoming in Italy, for the Italians were interested in their own Mediterranean trade routes and not in the possibility of a competing route to the west. Jeered and scoffed at by doubters who called him a visionary and a madman, Columbus labored tirelessly and incessantly for his project. He saw that aid must come from the rising maritime states of Western Europe and not from the older commercial cities of the Mediterranean. King John II of Portugal, after toying with Columbus's ideas, dropped them as impractical, being content to develop the Cape of Good Hope route. Bartholomew Columbus, a brother of Christopher, made a fruitless trip to England to secure aid from Henry VII. Meanwhile Christopher endeavored to secure aid from Spain. But the times were not propitious, for Queen Isabella of Castile and King Ferdinand of Aragon needed their resources to drive the Moors from the southern part of the Spanish peninsula to complete the unification of the country. This program was of greater momentary importance to these rulers than the visionary idea of a trade route to the east.

In 1492, with the expulsion of the Moors from Spanish soil, Isabella, who was Queen of Castile in her own right, agreed to finance Columbus's proposed voyage. She furnished him with three small vessels and the necessary supplies, the total cost of which amounted to only about $100,000. Columbus was to have the rank of grand admiral and viceroy over the lands to be discovered, with a tenth of all the gold and silver he should find, and the rank of a nobleman for himself and his progeny. The expedition sailed from Palos, Spain, on August 3, 1492, refitted in the Canaries, and sailed on the final leg of the voyage on September 6. America was discovered on October 12, and the pious leader named the island on which he landed San Salvador. Its identity is unknown, but it was probably Watling's Island in the Bahamas. He visited several islands in the West Indies, such as Cuba and Haiti, seeking the rich cities with their teeming populations which abounded in the fabulous east. Instead, he found primitive native villages with their dirty, naked savages whom he incorrectly called Indians. Despite his disappointment, he believed that this was only an outlying part of the orient,

and that further efforts would lead to discovery of that rich region filled with spices and precious metals spoken of by eastern travelers. He left a small colony on the island of Santo Domingo and then returned to Spain, arriving on March 15, 1493. There can be little doubt that the Western Hemisphere to which this voyage now opened the way had previously been visited by explorers from the Old World, particularly the Norsemen. The significance of Columbus's voyage, however, is that it paved the way for European penetration of the Americas.

Although Columbus returned to Spain with no riches from the newly discovered lands, the Spanish monarchs received him with every mark of esteem and the country echoed with his praise. This was only natural in a new nation without the commercial traditions of the older states of Europe. This voyage did not dispel all doubt that the Indies had been reached by a comparatively short sail across the Atlantic. The king of Portugal insisted that these lands were a part of Guinea, a possession of Portugal. This dispute was submitted to Pope Alexander VI, a Spaniard, for adjudication. That pontiff accordingly issued two bulls in which the new lands were divided between the two countries by an imaginary line of demarcation drawn from pole to pole, one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands. All lands, discovered or undiscovered, west of this line were given to Spain; those east of the line were assigned to Portugal. This arrangement was unsatisfactory to the latter country, for the line was drawn too close to Africa. Accordingly, it was modified by another papal decree in September, 1493, and by the Treaty of Tordesillas, signed by Portugal and Spain on June 7, 1494, which drew a line 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. This papal division was ignored by the Protestant states of Europe when they began their colonizing ventures in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In the autumn of 1493, Columbus returned to the New World with a large, well-equipped expedition—a sharp contrast to the small fleet he had led to America in the preceding year. A number of the Indies, including Puerto Rico and Jamaica, were discovered; he

returned to Spain in 1496. On his third voyage (1498) he reached the mainland of South America, at the mouth of the Orinoco River, rightly surmising that he had found a continent, although he still believed himself on the eastern coast of Asia. His exploration was checked by his arrest and return to Spain on charges of misgovernment which had been brought against him by his enemies. The monarchs disavowed the action of their envoys and released Columbus, though they did not restore the authority they had stripped from him. In his fourth voyage, 1502-1504, he explored the coast of Central America. His last years were full of bitterness and disappointment, for his failure to find the riches of the Indies and his incompetence as a governor made a great number of enemies for him. He died in 1506, poor, obscure, and neglected, not knowing that the land which baffled him in his quest for the east was a new world and not a part of Asia.

In 1497, John Cabot, a Venetian captain employed by Henry VII of England to search for a northwest passage to India, landed on the North American coast probably near Cape Breton Island. Therefore, he is generally recognized as the discoverer of this continent. After exploring the coast he returned to England, where the parsimonious king rewarded him for his invaluable work with a grant of £10 (about $50). Heading a much larger expedition in 1498, Cabot skirted the North American shore from Labrador possibly as far south as Chesapeake Bay. No attempt was made to colonize or to follow up these voyages; later, Cabot's discoveries formed the basis of English claims to the eastern portion of North America.

The New World, however, received its name not from Cabot or Columbus but from Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine navigator, employed first by Spain and later by Portugal. In 1504 he wrote an account of four voyages which he claimed to have made to the New World. Martin Waldeseemüller, a professor of geography in the College of St. Dié in Lorraine, accepted Vespucci's claims, and in 1507 published a pamphlet entitled *Cosmographiae Introductio* in which he suggested that this New World be given the name of America. This designation was originally applied to Brazil—the

region described in Vespucci's narrative—as distinguished from the insular discoveries of Columbus. The name America in time came to designate the whole of the Western Hemisphere.

The Line of Demarcation restricted Portuguese expansion in the New World to Brazil, which had been touched by the Spanish navigator Pinzon in 1499, and the Portuguese captain Cabral in 1500. In the east, however, she controlled the lucrative spice trade which was of far more value than anything that Spain in two decades had found in her new possessions. Unceasing exploration had failed to discover a passage-way through or around the extensive land mass of the American continents which blocked the way to the Indies. Ferdinand Magellan (c. 1480-1521), a disgruntled Portuguese sea captain, who had transferred his services to Spain, believed that a strait existed; and he proposed to reach the Spice Islands by sailing around South America. In 1519 he received the command of a fleet of five vessels from Charles V of Spain. Sailing westward, he explored the eastern coast of South America, rounded this continent through the strait that now bears his name, and sailed into the Great South Sea. He named this ocean the Pacific. He struck out boldly to the northwest in order to reach the latitude of the Spice Islands and, after much suffering, he reached the Ladrone Islands with but two ships. Then sailing southward, he discovered and named the Philippine Islands, where he lost his life in a skirmish with the natives (1521). The larger of his two vessels was captured by the Portuguese, but the smaller one, the *Vittoria,* succeeded in reaching Spain in 1522, thus completing the first circumnavigation of the globe. This marvelous voyage added greatly to geographical knowledge and proved without question that the earth was round.

The second stage of exploration was on land and not the sea. Spain took the leadership in this movement; and the boldest of her adventurers came to the New World not to found colonies but to search for riches. Such a one was Hernando Cortez, who, in 1519, began the conquest of Mexico. He found this region peopled with the Aztec Indians, possessing a higher degree of civilization and wealth than had hitherto been found in the New World. Cortez's

small but effective army crushed the resistance of the Indians, the land was despoiled, and an immense quantity of treasure was sent back to Spain. In 1532 Francisco Pizarro did a similar task in Peru. For centuries a steady stream of gold and silver flowed from these countries into the coffers of Spain. Other adventurers seeking treasure in America were less successful than Cortez and Pizarro. It was while on a quest for riches that Balboa discovered the Pacific Ocean (1513); De Soto explored the southeastern part of the United States (1539-1542); and Coronado in search for the Seven Cities of Cibola explored the southwest (1540-1542). While most of these adventurers found hardships and sometimes death instead of the riches for which they were seeking, their explorations opened up a great part of the New World to future colonization.

The Commercial Revolution had far-reaching effects upon civilization along economic, political, social, and religious lines. Economically, it shifted the commercial gravity of Europe from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic Ocean. Such old commercial centers as Venice, Genoa, Lübeck, and Hamburg were forced to relinquish their trade supremacy to rising cities like Lisbon, Cadiz, London, Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Bordeaux. With the decline of Italian commercial supremacy, there was a corresponding decline of the peninsula as the leading banking center of Europe, and Florence was forced to relinquish her prestige as the leading banking city in Europe to the new commercial cities. One of the ultimate results of the Commercial Revolution was an inevitable increase in prices. Medieval trade had suffered from a restricted currency, too often depleted by an unfavorable balance of trade with the east. The discovery of America opened a new source of precious metals to be exploited by Europeans; as a consequence, the gold supply of Europe increased several fold during the sixteenth century alone. For the first time in centuries the Continent enjoyed a favorable balance of trade with the outside world. The immense wealth of Mexico and Peru added greatly to the power and prestige of Spain. But ultimately she profited little from this treasure, for she merely acted as a clearing house through which the gold and silver flowed to the

more basically prosperous countries of Europe in payment of goods. At home the unwise policies of her rulers had undermined the national strength. Freedom of thought had been crushed by the Inquisition; the Jews and Moors, the industrial backbone of the nation, had been persecuted and driven from the country; unwise religious policy had caused the loss of the Netherlands, the commercial and industrial center of the empire. The acquisition of colonies had not been followed by mercantilist exploitation to augment the wealth of the mother country, for Spain was far more interested in the immediate gains than in the ultimate profits which would accrue from a wise program comprehending the whole economic life of a country; industry, commerce, and agriculture.

The increased supply of gold and silver in Europe penetrated every part of the Continent. During the Middle Ages the small supply of money had caused low prices and wages; the stream of precious metals from the New World during the Renaissance raised commodity prices and wages, causing a general dislocation of the economic life of Europe. This upheaval was not instantaneous after the discovery of America. From 1500 to 1550 there was little increase in prices, due primarily to the poor banking facilities which failed to maintain a fluid circulation of the capital as it came in from the New World. A rise in prices depended upon a large increment of gold and silver and the improvement of banking facilities to impart a velocity to money and credit.

The net effect of the rise of capitalism was to raise the standards of living in Europe during the sixteenth century. The increase in prices led to a rise in wages; but the true purchasing power of wages was actually lower than it had been before the Commercial Revolution. By the close of the sixteenth century this unjust stabilization in wages bore heavily upon the laborers. Professional men were well paid, their wages comparing favorably with those of the present day for the same classes. The best paid workers were those officials high in the service of the state, whose salaries were often larger than these employees deserved.

The social life of the people was fundamentally changed by the betterment of the standards of living during the Commercial Revolution. Improvements were made in housing and the comforts of home. Glass came to be used in the dwellings of the common people; tiles were used for roofing; carpets, tapestries, and bed linens became common. Europe drew heavily upon the New World and the east for new commodities such as tea, introduced from the east; coffee from Arabia; tobacco, potatoes, chocolate, Indian corn or maize, the turkey, etc., from America. The New World also sent to Europe large supplies of dyewoods, medicines (such as quinine), cane sugar, molasses, fish, lumber, naval stores, and furs.

One of the major political results of the Commercial Revolution has already been pointed out: the rise of such powerful states as England, France, Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands as a consequence of the shift of the economic center of Europe from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. Germany and Austria, as parts of the Holy Roman Empire, were embroiled in religious strife, and they lacked governmental support and a favorable geographical position to play a significant part in this commercial movement. Backward Russia, isolated and out of the main currents of European thought, profited little from the Commercial Revolution until the reign of Peter the Great (1689-1725). After the capture of Constantinople in 1453 by the Ottoman Turks, Southeastern Europe, long a center of trade, influenced the economic life of Western Europe very little. Portugal and Spain reaped the immediate economic and political benefits of the Commercial Revolution. The wealth from her colonies enabled Spain to maintain a position as the dominant Continental power until the opening of the seventeenth century.

The Commercial Revolution had a profound influence upon religion. As has been pointed out, the missionaries were the vanguard for the economic penetration of traders and colonizers. The newly discovered lands opened a virgin field for missionary endeavor which the various orders, particularly the Jesuits, were quick to seize. Soon after its founding in the sixteenth century, the Society of Jesus had missionaries in the heathen lands from America on the west to Japan

on the east. This non-Christian territory gave the Roman Catholic Church an opportunity to regain some of the membership, wealth, and prestige lost by the Protestant Revolt of the sixteenth century. Through the establishment of asylums from religious persecution, the New World became a refuge from the intolerance of the Old.

The important changes in the agricultural and commercial life of Europe during the Renaissance have been shown. While the parallel developments in industry were not so spectacular and romantic as those in commerce, yet they constitute the precursor of the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century. These two revolutions, Commercial and Industrial, in their far-reaching effects, were the two greatest upheavals in history. The industrial changes of the Renaissance marked the breakdown of the gild system—a system that was inadequate for the times after the Commercial Revolution. Several causes for this collapse are apparent. (1) The gilds were too conservative and opposed to change. (2) Oligarchical tendencies in the gilds made them too exclusive. Thousands of properly trained workers were excluded in order to preserve the standards of an outworn economic system. (3) The developments of new industries outside the gilds, such as cotton textiles, did not lend themselves readily to restriction by these organizations. Attempts to extend the archaic gild system with its deadening effects were firmly opposed by the leaders in the new industries. (4) The inauguration of the "outwork system." This system originated apparently in Italy, spread to Flanders, and then to England. In this latter country it was to enjoy its greatest development, particularly in the textile industry. The outwork system came as a consequence of the restrictions of the gilds in the employment of trained men in the trades. Now capitalists began to purchase the necessary raw materials and machinery and place them in the households where the workers would manufacture the goods under contract. Such a system short-circuited the gilds through the elimination of any participation by these organizations. The popularity and spread of this type of manufacturing led to greater production, cheaper goods, and greater employment. The chief objection to the outwork system was the absence of any control

by the capitalist over his workers. Without discipline he could not regulate the production of the workers, which was often so irregular that contracts or production scales could not be fulfilled. This weakness was eliminated by placing the workers in factories for disciplinary purposes. These were not factories in the present meaning of the word; but here employees continued to work on the contract or piece method, respecting certain regulations and hours of employment. This led to more regular production. The factory system as we know it was not possible until the introduction of a central motive power—the steam engine. Some social and economic effects of the factory system existed in the sixteenth century, but the technological effects did not come until the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century.

II

SCIENTIFIC ADVANCE IN THE AGE OF THE RENAISSANCE

In ancient times scientific knowledge was limited; little attempt was made to differentiate individual sciences. A traditional distinction was made by grouping such knowledge into the two major classifications of theoretical science (natural philosophy) and practical science (science proper). The Greeks excelled in the theoretical field, producing such notable scientists as Pythagoras, Thales of Miletus, Anaximander, Euclid, and others. The Romans absorbed this intellectual activity of the Greeks into Latin utilitarianism. Ancient science developed comparatively free from restrictive customs and taboos of religion and society. While, in Western Europe, science was in a decadent state even before the Germanic invasions, the barbarians crushed existing knowledge so effectively that only fragments survived through the Middle Ages. The Arabs constituted the medium for the transition of ancient science to the later medieval period; they preserved, assimilated, and passed on to western civilization much Greek and Hindu scientific knowledge. The Arabs not only salvaged knowledge, but they made noteworthy contributions of their own, especially in mathematics, medicine and astronomy. Their knowledge was disseminated to Western Europe by contacts in Saracen Spain and the crusading ventures into the Near East.

During the Middle Ages, the people of Western Europe had a more meagre knowledge and more restricted conception of science than that possessed by the ancient Greeks and Romans. That such a condition existed was due to the medieval attitude toward inquiry. The medievalists had no conception of natural law—all phenomena occurred only according to God's will. Natural law could not exist in an age of miracles. A great obstacle to scientific progress was the dogmatism of the church, which claimed divine origin, authority to

teach infallible truth, and the exclusive right to interpret the Scriptures. Ecclesiastics explained their restrictions on inquiry on the grounds that no unlimited freedom existed in the world; such freedom would be unjust and unreasonable, since it would lead only to license and rebellion. The Bible was the ultimate source and authority for all scientific teachings. If theories and findings agreed with the Gospels, well and good; if they did not, then they must be brought into conformity or altogether rejected. Such an attitude by the greatest institution of medieval society largely stifled experimentation and investigation until the Renaissance gave men a clearer conception of the universe and freed their minds from the trammels of dogmatism. A lack of interest in the world was another characteristic attitude of the Middle Ages. The true medievalist was too deeply influenced by the ascetic ideal to understand or appreciate secular interests. Asceticism emphasized dying, not living. Secular things were ephemeral; therefore, it behooved man to devote his life to the preparation of his soul for the eternal life beyond the grave. If secular truth was needed for the understanding of spiritual truth, or for salvation, then God would reveal it in His own way. Scientific development was retarded by this mental state, but the lack of scientific apparatus was a contributory cause as well. Further progress was dependent upon the invention or perfection of instruments to aid man's senses.

The Renaissance made far-reaching contributions to scientific knowledge. The period was characterized by the abandonment of the ascetic ideal, a revival of interest in the world, and the recognition of the necessity for experimentation. These new scientific trends came as a consequence of the synchronism of the cultural and economic revolutions of the Renaissance. New ideals were produced and men's minds were prepared to accept the more secular view of the universe which had been current in ancient times. At first, the tendency was to accept the authority of the ancients and substitute it for ecclesiastical dogmatism. Gradually, however, independence of thought developed and the true critical attitude of the Renaissance emerged. There was insistence on the application of the inductive

system of reasoning; scientists believed that there were natural laws and that these laws could be ascertained by observation and experiment.

Roger Bacon (1214-1294), an English philosopher and scientist, was a pioneer in this movement. Although he lived in the Middle Ages, his advanced ideas definitely mark him as a Renaissance, rather than a medieval, character. A liberal education at Oxford and later at Paris, from which institutions he received Master of Arts degrees, probably inculcated these progressive ideas. In no sense was he the first opponent of medieval scholasticism and the champion of freedom of thought and inquiry; such teachers as Adam Marsh and Robert Grosseteste at Oxford had held similar views and probably influenced Bacon. In the development and popularization of these ideas, Bacon was guided by three basic principles: the necessity of Greek, the necessity of experimentation, and the utility of mathematics.

Medieval knowledge was so firmly based upon the writings of Aristotle that an understanding of the Greek language constituted a fundamental prerequisite for a thorough knowledge of the Scriptures, science, or philosophy. During the Middle Ages, such writings had been preserved only in fragmentary or imperfect form; manuscripts had been translated from Greek into Arabic, and then into Latin, in which form they were used in Western Europe. Due to poor translation and deliberate falsification, existing Greek texts were not suitable for thorough scholars. Bacon continually attacked the faulty text of the Bible and the imperfect translations of Aristotle.

The second principle of Bacon's scientific creed was his insistence upon the necessity of experimentation to arrive at scientific truth. Experimentation was the door to knowledge and the criterion of truth. He criticized the scientific methods of his time and condemned the bondage of custom and popular opinion which had entrenched the deductive method in the scientific world. His third principle, that of the utility of mathematics, he considered as the key to science. Mathematics applied to observation was the only means of arriving

at a knowledge of nature—a practical, rather than an abstract, use of the principle.

Bacon's scientific ideas, although not entirely free from the taint of scholasticism, stamp him as being centuries ahead of his time. Criticism, opposition, and even persecution were inescapable consequences of such vision and progress. During his explorations of the secrets of nature, he made discoveries which were regarded by his ignorant, superstitious contemporaries as savoring of black magic. That some of these scientific ideas were so regarded and even held in opposition to the teachings of the church, were merely incidental, for he wrote his greatest works at the insistence of the pope and for the glorification of the church. The lack of orthodoxy in his doctrines, his imprudent and inaccurate views, and his harsh and often unjustifiable criticism of his contemporaries were the chief points of opposition to his works. Freedom of expression was denied him by a general restriction of the Franciscan Order, of which he was a member, which forbade the publication of any work without special permission from superiors. Bacon's ability was recognized by such clear-sighted men as Guy de Foulques, who became Pope Clement IV in 1266. Before his elevation to the papacy he had expressed the desire to examine some of Bacon's works, but compliance with this wish was prevented by the prohibition of the Franciscans. As pope he rescinded this prohibition, in favor of Bacon, who, in 1268, despatched, for papal examination, his encyclopedic *Opus Majus,* the *Opus Minus,* an alchemical treatise, and possibly the *Opus Tertius.* Clement could not have given these ambitious works more than a cursory examination, for he died in the same year in which they were received. Bacon's works were written primarily for the glorification of the church, an attitude shown in his *Opus Majus.* In this work, an exhortation addressed to Pope Clement, he urged the consolidation of the Roman Catholic faith as the supreme agency for the civilization of mankind; nevertheless, freedom of expression was withdrawn by the general of the Franciscan Order, with the sanction of Pope Nicholas III. His works were condemned and he was im-

prisoned in 1277. About 1292, he was released and permitted to return to Oxford, where he remained until his death.

In many respects, Bacon was a Renaissance character, but despite this, he could not rid himself of such medieval errors and beliefs as the influence of astrology and the existence of the "philosopher's stone." In actual scientific vision, however, he was far in advance of his contemporaries. Some of his theories and experiments, long regarded as original, were probably drawn from his study of the works of the Arabian scientists. Possibly his knowledge of the composition and properties of gunpowder came from this source. His greatest work, however, was in the field of optics. He observed such principles of refraction as the apparent magnitude of the sun and moon on the horizon; and he discussed the application of lenses to scientific purposes. At that time, the properties of lenses were not clearly understood, but Bacon mentioned their use in reading and viewing distant objects, both terrestrial and celestial. From this it is apparent that he understood the principles of spectacles, the telescope, and possibly the microscope. It is conceivable that he might have made such instruments. From his studies in mathematics and astronomy, he detected errors in the calendar, which he proposed to rectify. Although the magnitude and significance of Bacon's works were recognized, his findings made no marked impression on his contemporaries or immediate successors. This lack of influence probably resulted from the condemnation of his works by the church and the opposition of this institution to further scientific inquiry. A few centuries later, the true worth of his ideas became apparent.

Another ecclesiastic, Nicholas of Cusa (1401-1464), broke with the prevailing school of scholastic thought and made significant contributions in science. As a mathematician and natural philosopher, he advanced the theory that the earth rotated on its axis and was not the center of the universe. He propounded the law of inertia, experimented with falling bodies, and advanced an elementary theory of evolution. He favored a reform of the calendar along the lines laid down by Pope Gregory XIII more than a hundred years later.

As a critic, he was a precursor of Lorenzo Valla in declaring the "Donation of Constantine" to be a forgery.

Johann Müller (1436-1476) was one of the greatest Renaissance mathematicians. Greatly impressed by the progress made in mathematics and astronomy by the ancient Greeks and Saracens, he studied their works to gain ideas and to eliminate errors in translated versions. Consequently, he was able to introduce a number of innovations into western science. His *De Triangulis Omnimodis,* a treatise on plane and spherical trigonometry, used the sine and cosine; the *Tabulae Directionum,* while essentially an astronomical work, contained valuable tables of sines and tangents. In his *Algerithmus Demonstratus,* he was among the first in Western Europe to use symbolic algebra. With aid of a patron, he established an observatory and printing press at Nuremberg, from which he issued tables of eclipses and works on astronomy. He supplied the basis of modern cometary astronomy by his observations of the great (Halley's) comet of 1472. In cartography, his navigation charts and tables contributed materially to the scientific knowledge which made possible the voyages of discovery and exploration.

Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) was perhaps the greatest genius of the Renaissance and one of the most versatile men in history. His ability expressed itself in several fields—painting, sculpture, architecture, engineering, and science. As a Florentine he had an admirable opportunity to acquaint himself with the knowledge of his age. His keen intellect enabled him to acquire a great store of erudition; he arrived at many of his conculsions by brilliant intuition. Much of his scientific work was ancillary to his artistic nature, since he was motivated by the desire to perfect the things of beauty and power which he created. His versatility, however, caused him to diffuse his genius, rendering it impossible for him to perfect or complete many of the tasks in which he was interested. The scope of his scientific observation and experimentation included both applied and theoretical science. The greatest achievements of his scientific career were in the applied field, as a military engineer, where his services were greatly needed during the French invasions of Italy. His firm grasp

of the principles of experimental science was strengthened by a wide range of experimentation and observation. As an artist, he saw the necessity of perfecting his knowledge of anatomy. He was the precursor of Harvey in the discovery of the circulation of the blood and he made a thorough study of optics to enable him accurately to paint the human eye. The idea of discovering the principles of flying and the invention of a flying machine intrigued him as it had done mankind for centuries. He spent much time observing birds to learn their methods of flight. The lack of a suitable form of motive power checked these experiments, but not before his study of the anatomy and habits of birds had made him an outstanding ornithologist. He made significant observations in meteorology; he knew that the earth revolved around the sun and understood the effect of the moon upon the tides. He discovered the nature of fossil shells and experimented with falling bodies; his notable achievements in the science of hydraulics probably included invention of the hydrometer.

For thirteen centuries, science generally had accepted the geocentric theory advanced by Ptolemy. It was believed that the earth was the center of the universe and the sun and stars revolved around it. During the Renaissance, this theory began to totter. It was left for Copernicus (1473-1543), a Polish astronomer, in his *The Revolutions of Heavenly Bodies,* to refute the geocentric theory and advance his own heliocentric theory that the earth was not the center of the universe, but that it and the planets revolved around the sun. It was with reticence that he agreed to the publication of this theory, for he perceived that it did not harmonize with the Scriptures nor with the Ptolemaic theory held by the church. If it was his intention to conciliate the church by dedicating this work to Pope Paul III, such a precaution was useless, for Copernicus died on the same day that the first published copy of his book reached him. Since Copernicus possessed inadequate apparatus and limited mathematical and astronomical knowledge, his heliocentric theory was not free from errors and miscalculations; it remained for such scientists as Galileo, Kepler, and Newton to perfect it.

Helmont (1577-1644), a Belgian chemist, physiologist, and physician, revealed scientifically the existence of gases distinct from atmospheric air, and was probably the first to introduce the term *gas* into science. He believed water to be the primary, if not ultimate, constituent of matter. In support of this theory, he carried out experiments in which he showed that plants could grow, although they received nothing but pure water. The weakness of Helmont's conclusion was his failure to recognize the part played by carbon dioxide in the growth of plants. In medicine, he observed the acid reaction of the gastric juice, thus being the forerunner of the iatrochemical school. Toscanelli (1397-1482), astronomer and geographer, and Amerigo Vespucci (1451-1512), famous navigator, were leaders in their respective fields whose contributions to science were pointed out in the discussion of discovery and exploration. Pacioli (c. 1440-c. 1515), Italian mathematician, in his chief work, *Summa de Arithmetica, Geometria, Proportioni et Proportionalita* (1494), epitomized the mathematical knowledge of the time. Tartaglia (c. 1506-1559), an Italian physicist and mathematician, discovered a method of solving cubic equations, and from these suggestions, his contemporary, Cardan (1501-1576), probably derived the solution known as Cardan's Method. In physics, Tartaglia studied the theory of falling bodies and the range of projectiles, publishing his findings in his *Nuova Scienzia.* He published the first Italian translation of Euclid and the earliest direct translation of some of the principal works of Archimedes.

Medieval medicine, like other sciences of the time, was permeated with superstition and based primarily upon corrupt versions of the writings of the ancients. Hippocrates (c. 460-c. 370 B.C.) and Galen (c. 131-c. 200 A.D.) were the chief authorities, and from the time of Galen to the Renaissance little or no progress was made in medicine or surgery. In keeping with medieval ideas—or lack of them—Western Europe tacitly accepted the scientific findings of the ancients and made few attempts to verify or augment them. The chief additions to this medical knowledge came through contacts between western and eastern civilization. The Saracens were heirs to the

medical knowledge of Greece and Rome; and, free from the deadening ascetic philosophy of the west, were able to contribute materially to this heritage. Although western medical knowledge had lost a great part of its ancient religious significance, much of this knowledge and its application was still in the hands of the priesthood. Practically all the hospitals of the Middle Ages were controlled by the church; and these *hôtels-Dieu* did a noble service to humanity.

During the Middle Ages, the leading medical school in Europe was located at Salerno in Italy. In time, the study of medicine was added to the curriculum of the great universities and such schools as Montpellier in France soon gained a wide reputation. Instruction was primarily theoretical, consisting of dissertations and lectures upon the works of Hippocrates and Galen. After receiving his degree of Bachelor of Medicine, the student secured clinical or practical experience by serving as assistant to a practitioner. Surgery was little understood; the dissection of the human body only intermittently practiced. The fundamental error of medieval medical science was in the divorce of medicine from surgery. The prestige and usefulness of surgery declined in the opinion of physicians until its general practice was relegated to such menials as barbers and bath-keepers. Probably this lack of respect is traceable to Galen's dictum that "surgery is only a mode of treatment," and to the oriental aversion to touching the human body as unclean or unholy. In the early Middle Ages, instruction in anatomy was based upon the dissection of animals, since the dissection of the human body was proscribed by law and sentiment. Emperor Frederick II removed some of the legal bans against the dissection of human cadavers, but Renaissance knowledge of anatomy continued to be gained primarily from texts and lectures. The revival of interest in human dissection is credited to Mundinus, a professor in the University of Bologna, early in the fourteenth century. Such great Renaissance painters as Leonardo da Vinci studied anatomy to perfect their artistic work, but it was Andreas Vesalius (1514-1564), by his work at the University of Padua, who made this study a real science.

For a time there was no advancement in pathology corresponding to the increase in surgical knowledge. Physicians were too imbued with the ancient theory of the four humors, which were black and yellow bile, phlegm, and blood. A proper arrangement of these four was necessary for good health; domination of any one would lead to physical maladjustment and man would become choleric, melancholy, phlegmatic, or sanguine, according to the particular dominant humor. Few scientific developments were made in pharmacology; in the treatment of sickness the medieval physicians often relied upon the most nauseous and repulsive concoctions which their imaginations could conceive. Toads, eels, snakes, lizards, and earthworms were popular ingredients, although vegetable and mineral medicines were commonly used.

The Renaissance was fruitful in the development of scientific medical knowledge. Medicine was affected by such characteristic Renaissance factors as the revival of knowledge of Greek, the decline of the ascetic ideal, the invention of printing, geographical discovery and exploration, the application of observation and experimentation, and the developments in art which contributed to a greater knowledge of anatomy. One of the pioneers of scientific medicine was Paracelsus (c. 1490-1541), a German physician and chemist. Although regarded as a charlatan by his contemporaries and immediate successors, he enriched the study of medicine and chemistry with his discoveries. He rejected Galenism; in discarding the prevalent theory of humors, he taught that disease was caused by a disharmony of normal functions and was to be combatted with such specific chemical remedies as sulphur, arsenic, iron, and mercury. Valerius Cordus (1515-1544), a gifted Prussian physician, discovered sulphuric ether in 1540. Its practical use as an anaesthetic in surgery, however, was not recognized at the time. For three centuries, mankind was to suffer before the anaesthetic properties of ether were recognized and applied. Sanctorious (1561-1636), described a clinical thermometer of his own devising. This instrument, too, received no practical use at the time and was forgotten for nearly a hundred years.

During the Renaissance, there were brought into use several inventions most important in their results to civilization. Possibly none of these was to have a greater influence upon the future history of mankind than the invention of printing from movable type. For centuries, orientals, particularly the Chinese, had printed from engraved wooden blocks, each block forming a whole page. This method did not supplant the laborious method of copying manuscripts by hand, for the engraving of a page block was a slow process. Further development in printing was dependent upon the substitution of movable, metallic type for the wood blocks. There is no certainty as to the actual date of the invention of movable type, or the name of the inventor. John Gutenberg (c. 1398-1468) of Mainz generally is regarded as the strongest claimant to the honor, although the claims of Laurens Koster (c. 1370-1440), a Dutch printer, have been recognized by many investigators. Gutenberg brought the art to such perfection that, in 1456, a complete Vulgate Bible was printed. Cheap paper, an essential requisite, supplanted the costly parchment and lowered the prices of books, thus greatly stimulating the spread of learning.

The introduction of gun powder from the orient, and its first use in firearms in the fourteenth century, ultimately proved to be the final blow to feudalism. Firearms made the infantry an effective force and equalized combatants, since a peasant could use a gun as effectively as a knight. The knight and his armor soon became obsolete. Another invention of the Renaissance period, the pivot compass, enabled mariners to steer without the use of landmarks or the stars and made possible the voyages of discovery and exploration. Although the principles of lenses had been known to the ancient Greeks and Romans, their application to the use of science in such inventions as the telescope and microscope widened the fields of observation and stimulated scientific inquiry.

III

THE LITERARY RENAISSANCE

The Regressive phase of the Renaissance was characterized by a reaction against decadent scholasticism. In a world of wider interests, man began to discard a transcendental, ascetic concept of life, to substitute humanism with its distinctly mundane and naturalistic view. Humanism, in its wider meaning, was rebellion against the discipline of the church and its restrictions on medieval thought. In its more common and specific sense, it was a revival of interest in the classical literature of Greece and Rome. Interest in or knowledge of the classics had not entirely disappeared at any time during the Middle Ages, but the predilection for theology had caused the classics to be subordinated to religion. The writings of Cicero, Vergil, Ovid, and other ancient authors were misconstrued or perverted in their interpretation to bolster the dogma of the church. By the appellation "profane literature," medieval scholars distinguished classical writing from the more spiritual work of churchmen. These ascetics were incapable of comprehending or appreciating the intrinsic value of ancient civilization; such appreciation was to be left for the humanists, who studied the classics for their innate beauty and not for any religious value.

Italy was the original home of humanism. Individuals who extolled worldly pleasure, with its freer play of sensory impulses, found their prototypes in the ancient culture of Rome and the hitherto neglected culture of Greece. The new interest was personal and emotional; humanists enjoyed the beauty of the classics and were impressed by their elegant literary style. Admiration led to imitation, in an attempt to capture and reproduce something of the spirit which they so highly prized. But the civilization which had inspired these works had been swept away by the barbarian invasions; while this ancient culture had not been entirely effaced in Italy, its resusci-

tation was only partial. In failing to capture the intangible essence of the ancients, the writings of the humanists often degenerated into barren imitation. But it was neither the form nor subject of their writings which was the most characteristic and permanent; it was their humanistic spirit.

The Renaissance had its beginnings in Italy, although outwardly it appears that France should have taken the leadership in the movement. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries France was the intellectual center of Europe and held a pre-eminent position in university education. That the Renaissance did not begin in France may be attributed to scholasticism. Scholars who might have taken the initiative in developing liberalism were too engrossed in logic and theology to break the bonds of medieval thought. In Italy, however, conditions were more favorable. Here the classical civilization of Rome had not entirely disappeared; on every hand the Italian people could see evidence of the ancient grandeur of Rome. Proximity to Constantinople contributed to a revived interest in classical Greek culture; commerce and trade with the east led to contacts with the highly developed Levantine civilization. In Italian cities, freedom of thought and inquiry prevailed, emancipated from the deadening incubus of scholasticism. Since Italy had not suffered to any great extent from feudalism and was comparatively free from control by church or empire, political freedom developed in her cities and gave opportunity for individual expression which was accentuated by the emotional nature of the Italian people.

Renaissance Italy was divided into three major political divisions, Southern, Central, and Northern Italy. Southern Italy composed the Kingdom of Naples, which, with the neighboring island of Sicily, formed the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Naples and Sicily were ruled by France or Spain until 1442, when the Two Sicilies were reunited under Spanish control. The Spaniards were to rule the kingdom until the unification of Italy in the nineteenth century. The impetus to civilization given by Emperor Frederick II to Naples soon declined; at the opening of the Renaissance, this was the most backward part of the peninsula. Central Italy consisted of the Papal

States, under the personal rule of the pope, and constituted a major impediment to unification until 1870. Northern Italy, the most progressive part of the peninsula, was divided into several independent states, the most important of which were Milan, Florence, and Venice. During the Renaissance, Venice was the most powerful political and commercial state in Italy. Her geographical location on islands in the northern Adriatic ensured her own political independence, and, at the same time, allowed her to extend her control over parts of the neighboring mainland. Venice was originally a republic, but by the time of the Renaissance it had become a commercial oligarchy. The Doge, or Duke, was originally the chief executive officer, elected by the people. The Grand Council gradually absorbed the powers of government; in 1297 membership in this body became hereditary in a few noble families, whose right to such representation was recorded in the "Golden Book." The unwieldiness of the Grand Council led to the appointment of a powerful executive committee, the Council of Ten. This group, although renewed by annual elections, became the real governing organ. After 1454, however, the three state inquisitors exercised almost unlimited power.

Milan, the chief manufacturing city of Italy, was in theory a ducal fief of the Holy Roman Empire, but in actuality a republic ruled by despots. The Visconti family controlled the government in the fourteenth century; in 1451, the powerful Sforza family, aided by the Venetians, overthrew the Visconti and seized control of the city. The Sforza continued in possession until expelled in 1512. Florence, the leading banking center in Europe, likewise was theoretically a republic, but was actually controlled by the despotic Medici. The period of the Medici synchronized with the most glorious years of Florentine history; their patronage of art and literature contributed to those advancements which made this period the "Golden Age" of the Renaissance.

The power of the Italian despots was based upon mercenary troops, commanded by the *condottieri,* for the burghers were too busy in manufacture and trade to do their own fighting. The *condottieri* introduced more skillful methods of fighting and tended to

supplant foot soldiery with cavalry. Battles became mere bloodless games of strategy and, in time, political aggrandizement came to rest solely upon intrigue and statecraft. At the close of the fifteenth century, Italy was the most prosperous, as well as the most enlightened and civilized, country in Europe. But despite these advantages, national unity was wanting; the peninsula, made up of discordant states, was prey to anarchy. Venice, ambitious for conquest, had extended her control over the lesser states of Northeastern Italy; the papacy had subordinated its spiritual function to political objectives and intrigues. The country was an alluring prize for foreign invaders. Two dangers menaced Italy: politically, the rival aspirations of the kings of Spain and France for control of the peninsula; economically, the loss of Italian commercial supremacy by the encroachments of the Ottoman Turks and the opening of new trade routes.

The year 1492 marks a turning-point in the history of Italy. In this year, the discovery of America destroyed the commercial supremacy of Venice and hastened her political decline; the fall of Granada led to the unification of Spain, increased her prestige, and gave her a freer hand in Italian affairs. Rodrigo Borgia assumed the tiara as Pope Alexander VI; the death of Lorenzo de' Medici hastened the collapse of Italy; France came under the personal control of Charles VIII. These disastrous influences culminated in the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII in 1494.

The motive of the French invasion was the claim of Charles, through the House of Anjou, to the throne of Naples. In order to protect his kingdom from invasion during his absence and to secure a free hand in Italy, he made treaties with Henry VII of England, Ferdinand of Aragon, and Emperor Maximilian I. The French were invited to invade Italy by Ludovico il Moro, the Milanese usurper; by the Neapolitan barons, who were tired of Aragonese misrule; and by enemies of Pope Alexander VI, who wished to depose him on the twofold charge of simony and immorality. Charles chose to march the length of the Italian peninsula, instead of going by sea. In 1494, he crossed the Alps, took Milan and Florence without any effective opposition, and marched on Rome. The pope aptly charac-

terized the invasion by saying that the only weapon the French needed on their march was the chalk with which they marked out the lodgings of their troops. Revealing unforseen inflexibility of character, Alexander refused to yield to the demands of Charles to recognize his claims to Naples. Eventually, the French king capitulated, acknowledged Alexander as the true pope, and dropped his efforts to depose him. On February 22, 1495, Charles entered Naples without striking a blow. Since he had failed to secure papal sanction for this usurpation, he was forced to crown himself king. The extraordinary ease with which the conquest had been accomplished alarmed the Italians. A formidable league was formed against Charles by the pope, the emperor, Venice, Aragon, and Milan. The French king realized his predicament; he retired from Naples and fought his way back to France. Ferdinand II of Sicily, aided by Spanish troops, expelled the French garrison from Naples; the conquests of Charles were lost as speedily as they were gained.

Charles VIII died in 1497, before he had an opportunity to regain his losses. Since he left no male heir, the crown reverted to his nearest relative, Louis of Orleans. As Louis XII, he adopted the aggressive Italian policy of his predecessor. In addition to the claims of Charles to Naples, Louis also claimed Milan through his grandmother, Valentina Visconti. After contracting alliances to secure the support of Northwestern Italy, he invaded the peninsula in 1499. Milan was speedily captured by the French, who now planned the conquest of Naples. To ensure success, Charles made a joint agreement with Ferdinand of Aragon to drive out the King of Naples and divide the territory between them. The Neapolitan king was deposed, but disagreement broke out between the allies, leading to war and the expulsion of the French. Ferdinand made himself supreme in the Two Sicilies, which he now reunited under a single crown.

Louis, eager for revenge, speedily resumed hostilities. Two armies were sent over the Pyrenees in unsuccessful thrusts at Spain. A third army invaded Italy in an attempt to reconquer Naples, but was disastrously defeated by the Spaniards and Italians. A third Italian war

was begun in 1507. This period of widespread turmoil in Italy was used advantageously by Venice to increase her territory by the annexation of several papal towns in Romagna. Upon the pope's insistence, Venice relinquished some of her newly conquered territory; in the towns she retained, she exercised not only political control but ecclesiastical jurisdiction as well. Warlike and intrepid Pope Julius II refused to acquiesce to such control and threatened to reduce Venice to a fishing village. To this threat the Venetian ambassador replied, "As for you, Holy Father, if you are not more reasonable, we shall reduce you to a village priest." In 1508, the pope organized the League of Cambrai, consisting of himself, Louis XII of France, Emperor Maximilian I, and Ferdinand of Aragon, to humble Venice and restore its recent conquests to their original owners. Venice was not powerful enough to contend against the combined forces of the League. She entered into negotiations with the papacy and regained its goodwill by surrendering disputed towns and restoring usurped ecclesiastical powers. Julius was detached from the League of Cambrai; fired with the spirit of Italian patriotism, he prepared to free the peninsula from subjection to foreign rule. Realizing the necessity of allies in his quarrel with France, he organized, in 1511, the Holy League. With the deflection of imperial support from France to the League and the death of the ablest French leader, Gaston de Foix, Louis XII was driven beyond the Alps.

The death of Louis XII (1515) did not end the dream of French control of Italy; his policy was continued by Francis I (1515-1547). When Francis ascended the throne, he was only twenty years of age; he was frivolous, irresponsible, and desirous of military renown. In 1515, he invaded Italy and defeated the Swiss—who were in the pope's pay—in the hard-fought but decisive battle of Marignano. He occupied Milan, and Pope Leo X gladly came to terms.

On the death of Emperor Maximilian I in 1519, Francis and Charles I of Spain became rival candidates for the imperial crown. Charles had succeeded to the Spanish possessions of his mother, Infanta Joanna, "the Fool," daughter and heiress of Ferdinand and Isabella. By skillful bribery and threats, he was elected as Emperor

Charles V over his rivals, Francis I and Henry VIII of England. The union of Spanish and imperial territory under one ruler gave Charles the greatest empire that had ever been ruled by a Christian monarch. The general political situation of the time, the territorial rivalry of the Houses of Hapsburg and Valois, and the gradual encompassment of France by Hapsburg territories, led to the outbreak of a series of four wars between Francis and Charles, primarily for the control of Italy: 1521-1526; 1526-1529; 1536-1538; and 1542-1544.

The opening of the first war found Charles allied with the pope and Henry VIII. The imperial forces defeated the French at the Battle of Pavia in 1525. After a brief captivity in Spain, Francis signed the Treaty of Madrid (1526), renouncing his claims to Burgundy, the Netherlands and Italy. Upon his return to France he refused to fulfill this pledge on the grounds that compulsion exercised at the time absolved him from his oath.

The ascendency of Charles endangered the balance of power of Europe and frightened his allies into the French camp. But with the resumption of hostilities, dissension and apathy of the coalition enabled the imperialists to secure control of a great part of Italy. Charles now singled out vacillating Pope Clement VII for vengeance. Although the emperor cannot be held altogether responsible for the disgraceful event, in the spring of 1527, an imperial army of Spanish and German mercenaries marched on Rome and took it by assault. The ensuing pillage was so terrible that superstitious Protestants regarded it as divine punishment of the papacy, while devout Catholics regarded it as a fitting end to the political intrigues and policies of the Renaissance popes. Desecration of monasteries, convents, libraries, museums, and works of art dealt a crushing blow to learning.

Clement hastened to negotiate peace with the emperor. Francis and his allies held out for a time but made little headway. By the general Peace of Cambray (1529), French retirement from Italy was reconfirmed; the House of Hapsburg was now the unquestioned master of Italy. In 1530, Charles received the imperial crown from the pope.

Charles now turned to quell the Protestant Revolt and to repulse the Turks, who had overrun Hungary and laid siege to Vienna. The Diet of Augsburg (1530) failed to solve the religious problem, but an expedition against the Turks succeeded in ending the threat from that quarter. The Peace of Cambray proved but a truce with the resumption of hostilities in 1536. Finally, by the efforts of Pope Paul III, another truce, this time for ten years, was concluded at Nice in 1538. This peace was broken by resumption of spasmodic warfare in 1542, terminated, in 1544, by the Treaty of Créspy. The death of Francis, in 1547, did not end the conflict between France and Spain, for his son and successor, Henry II, continued the struggle until the conclusion of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559. By this treaty the Hapsburgs retained their hold upon Italy, while France extended her northeastern frontier by occupying the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. In the meantime, Charles resigned the Spanish crown to his son, Philip II, in 1556. In the following year, he abdicated the imperial throne in favor of his brother, Ferdinand I, and retired to a monastery.

This long series of wars had significant effects upon European history. Hapsburg predominance in Italy was confirmed; France expanded her frontier towards the Rhine; the balance of power was preserved; Protestantism in Germany enjoyed a comparatively free growth, assuring its success; the Turks strengthened their power in Southeastern Europe.

The comparative freedom of the Italian city-states from papal, imperial, and feudal control has been pointed out as a reason for the beginning of the Renaissance in Italy. Love of city, characteristic of Italians during the Renaissance, engendered rivalry among the cities which was lacking in the nationalistic states of Europe. Rivalry expressed itself in such ways as patronage of art, literature, and science. Leaders in these fields enhanced local prestige and the cities exerted themselves to excel their neighbors in encouraging learning. In this respect, no city enjoyed a greater success than Florence. Wealthy patrons encouraged the movement; despots were in a position to assume the leadership. Local pre-eminence in art and learning

served to make the common people satisfied with the rule of the despots. Internal political developments contributed to the development of the Renaissance, while external developments diffused the Renaissance throughout Europe. Northern Europeans had come into contact with the Renaissance while in Rome on religious missions. But it was left for the French invasions of Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I to spread the Renaissance outside Italy. The sack of Rome in 1527 ended the positive movement in Italy; in other parts of the Continent, however, the movement had only begun.

It is customary to begin the history of humanism with Dante (1265-1321), the greatest of Italian poets. Like so many other geniuses of the Renaissance, he was born in Florence, the intellectual center of Italy. His family was of the lower nobility; although little is definitely known of his youth and education, it seems that he received a thorough classical training. His life was colored in his impressionistic childhood, especially by an early meeting with Beatrice, for whom he developed an unrequited love. Neither the marriage of Beatrice to the Florentine noble, Simone de' Bardi, nor Dante's subsequent marriage to Gemma Donati could destroy his pure and Platonic devotion to her. This feeling was intensified after Beatrice's early death, although there is no evidence that she had returned Dante's affection. Shortly after his marriage, Dante entered Florentine politics, which, due to factional strife, promised anything but a peaceful life. At this time the Guelph party in Florence divided into the rival factions of "Whites" and "Blacks." The Whites, or moderates, were anti-papal and leaned toward reconciliation with the Ghibellines, who had been driven from the city; the Blacks, an extreme papal party, opposed such a reconciliation. Dante allied himself with the Whites. Since the papacy was involved, this local squabble soon took on an international aspect. When the Blacks came into power in 1302, Dante, with other members of the Whites, was banished from the city. Never again did he visit Florence; he was forced to spend the remainder of his life despairing of return to his beloved home. His exile made him moody and remorseful, a mental state which is reflected in his works.

While dates and sequences of Dante's works are a matter of conjecture, his *New Life (La Vita Nuova)* was probably the earliest. This is the story of how Dante's life was transformed by his love for Beatrice—a story told so feelingly that it is difficult to distinguish her real personality from the author's ideal of beauty and virtue of which she was his symbol. Dante traces the development of this love from his initial infatuation in which her physical characteristics predominated; then, assuming a broader scope, Beatrice is progressively idealized until her human qualities tend to vanish in a blaze of idealism. Dante's interest in medieval philosophy is shown in *Il Convito (The Banquet)*, in which he attempts to make the philosophy of such scholastics as Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus intelligible to the layman. In *De Monanarchia* he reveals his continued interest in politics by propounding the theory of a divinely intended international empire, resting on brotherhood and love, and ruled by a universal emperor and pope, each free of the other in their respective temporal and spiritual spheres.

Dante's greatest work, the *Divine Comedy,* is an epitome of medieval learning, giving the fullest play to the author's manifold talents. This encyclopedic work summarized the ideas of the Middle Ages and brought the period to a close. As a transitional work, its significance in the Renaissance is that it paved the way for new culture, and, above all, was written in the vernacular. In his earlier works, Dante toyed with the use of the vernacular; in the *New Life* he limited its use to love poetry, for which he felt the native tongue was a natural medium. Despite experimentation in the use of Italian, Dante believed it crude and unformed and hesitated to employ it on such a theme as the *Divine Comedy.* This masterpiece swayed the movement towards the fuller use of the vernacular; probably no work in the world, except the Bible and Shakespeare, has given rise to so large a literature. The contemporary recognition of the greatness of the *Divine Comedy* is shown by the discovery of more than 500 contemporary manuscripts; five commentaries or critical discussions appeared before Dante's death and, about fifty years after the

death of the author, a public lectureship on the *Divine Comedy* was established in Florence, with Boccaccio as the first incumbent.

The *Divine Comedy* is divided into three parts: Inferno, Purgatory, and Paradise. The theme of the work is allegorical. Dante dreams that he has wandered into a dusky forest, when the spirit of the pagan poet, Vergil, representing earthly wisdom, appears and offers to conduct him through Hell and Purgatory. The journey begins with a tour of Inferno and Dante vividly describes and characterizes the tortures of the damned, who were brought to ruin because of their individual desires and passions. From Hell, Dante and Vergil ascend to Purgatory, where the scenes are similar to those of the Inferno, but the punishments are temporary. Imprisoned souls have freed themselves of human pettiness and are cheered because their salvation is inevitable. The pagan Vergil, symbolizing human reason and intellect, cannot lead Dante on the third and final stage of the journey through Paradise. Vergil can interpret such terrestrial experiences as sin and virtue, but the beauties of the celestial world must be unfolded by a purer, higher power. The Earthly Paradise, or Garden of Eden, at the summit of Purgatory is the ultimate goal that men can attain through reason and virtue, unilluminated by grace. Here Dante has a vision of his beloved Beatrice, and, with her as his guide, ascends to the Celestial Paradise. In this region, souls have emancipated themselves from their earthly weaknesses. The poet and his guide begin a leisurely exploration of the universe, giving Dante an opportunity to disclose his encyclopedic knowledge of medieval culture. Finally, the explorers reach the empyrean where is God. Here dwell the souls of the blessed, who have attained enduring and triumphant happiness through their possession of the supreme qualities of love.

Because he was not controlled by the ideas of the Middle Ages, Petrarch (1304-1374) is commonly called the first humanist. Although born at Arezzo, he was of Florentine parentage and spent his formative years at Avignon, where his father was employed at the papal court. Contact with the corruption of the church administration probably accounts for Petrarch's later anti-papal bias. His

education was thoroughly Renaissance in character; he studied the best Latin authors and learned to appreciate and imitate their classical style. His father opposed this taste for literature; and, at his insistence, Petrarch began the study of the law, first at Montpellier in France, and then, at the great school at Bologna. Only paternal authority prevented him from abandoning this distasteful work and following his natural inclination to become a classical scholar. The death of his father in 1326, however, removed this obstacle. Without adequate means of livelihood, he returned to Avignon and took orders to assure him freedom for study.

Petrarch's genius expressed itself naturally and easily in his native language. Although master of Italian lyric poetry, he felt that such works were ephemeral and possessed little literary value. His chief intellectual interest was absorbed in the revival of Latin and attainment of skill in its use. In this language alone, he felt, would his monumental works enjoy immortality. In his later years, he became so enamoured of classical Latin writers that he disdained to write in any other language. The study of Latin became such an obsession that he wrote letters to Cicero and other dead classical authors; in writing to friends he also used the purest Latin style.

Petrarch's literary life was inspired by an idealistic love for Laura. Although Laura was married at the time of their first meeting, in 1327, he retained a Platonic devotion even after her death. It was she who inspired and is the subject of most of the imperishable sonnets in his *Canzoniere.* Previously, the sonnet as a form of poetical expression had not enjoyed great popularity. Petrarch improved the crude form; his success with this perfected medium contributed to its almost immediate success. His other notable work in the vernacular, the allegorical poem *I Trionfi,* is written in *terza rima;* its only remarkable passages are those referring to his love for Laura.

It was his Latin writings, however, which he and his contemporaries most highly prized. Passionate admiration for classical antiquity and fervent patriotism is shown in the *Africa,* an epic of the Second Punic War, centering in the deeds of Scipio Africanus. This work was deemed his masterpiece; contemporaries considered it the

equal of Vergil's *Aeneid,* which it faintly resembles. In recognition of the merit of the *Africa,* Petrarch was crowned laureate of the civilized world. Although the epic enjoyed contemporary fame, it was dominated too much by the imitative spirit of humanism and the ancient grandeur of Rome to enjoy lasting fame. Today, it is regarded merely as a literary curiosity.

The versatility of Petrarch's humanistic genius is astonishing; it opened for Europe a new sphere of intellectual activity. The greatest master of Latin of his age, he also wished to learn Greek, but never mastered the language. He could approach the *Iliad* only through Boccaccio's crude Latin version. He was among the earliest Renaissance figures to recognize the value of manuscripts, ancient coins, and archaeology as sources of classical knowledge. His enthusiastic quest for manuscripts probably gave the first incentive to collection; among his discoveries were such important works as Cicero's *Familiar Letters.* Emancipated from the medieval belief that the glorious phenomena of nature were manifestations of the Devil, he discovered a new world of emotions in the appreciation of their beauties. His difficult ascent of Mt. Ventoux, in France (1335) for the mere delight of the experience was perhaps the first example of its kind in centuries. His love of fame was his ruling passion; his learning and genius enabled him to enjoy the patronage of such men as Pope Clement VI, Emperor Charles IV, King Robert of Sicily, and the Visconti of Milan. His was such an exceptional position that he boasted princes had lived with him, not he with princes.

Boccaccio (1313-1375) shares with Petrarch the honor of initiating the humanistic movement. In his youth, he gave up business and the study of law to devote himself almost entirely to literature. He became one of the small number of Italians of his time who could read the Greek authors in the original. Since his facility in the use of Latin was not the equal of that of Petrarch, he preferred to write in the vernacular. Although honored by contemporaries for his humanistic Latin works, posterity remembers him chiefly for his great vernacular work, the sensuous *Decameron.* The setting of this work is the terrible period of the Black Death of 1348. One hundred

tales were represented to have been told to pass the time by a company of seven ladies and three young men who fled to a country villa to escape the devastations of the plague. The *Decameron* is a little world within itself; the author has drawn upon a multitude of sources—the French *fabliaux,* folklore, contemporary life, and the classics—for all those fundamental situations which confront humanity in its most universal aspects. But whatever he borrowed, he made his own through his mastery of style. The stories range from the highest pathos to the coarsest licentiousness; they lack a moral sense, an idealism which would have given them a more aesthetic proportion. The Renaissance spirit of this work is reflected in its break with medieval morality. Unlike the works of the Middle Ages, in the *Decameron* the scoundrels are not always punished, nor the virtuous rewarded; the cardinal sin is ignorance. Indecency is the greatest blot upon the *Decameron,* but to it the work undoubtedly owes an appreciable part of its fame. Such coarseness is not traceable to the temperament of the author, but to the corruption of the circle in which it was written.

Machiavelli's (1469-1527) *The Prince* may be regarded as a literary characterization of the turbulent political life of Italy, at the opening of the sixteenth century. Machiavelli was an exponent of a united Italy, free from foreign control; liberation, however, was consequent upon the establishment of a strong, absolute government under efficient leadership. In keeping with this idea, he wrote *The Prince* for the private perusal of the Medici family of Florence, the logical despots to put his ideas into practice. The author analyzes the methods to be employed by an ambitious man to rise to sovereign power; after obtaining his goal, "Let a prince, therefore, take the surest course he can to maintain his life and state: the means shall always be thought honorable." Such a government would be free from all idealistic elements by the subordination of religion and morality to political expediency. The wise ruler, however, would conceal his absolutism as much as possible. Not only is force a necessity in aiding the prince to retain his office, but it serves as a tonic for the human race to preserve vitality. Idleness leads to disorder

and disorder leads to anarchy; war will prevent idleness and serve as an outlet for suppressed energy. In advancing his views on the nature of principalities, the method of uniting them, and the qualities needed for a successful despot, Machiavelli did not deal with abstract principles and arguments, but drew his suggestions from historical and contemporary examples, particularly the career of Cesare Borgia (1476-1507). Machiavelli's drastic and inhuman theories merely reflected prevailing political conditions in Italy; as the antithesis of enlightened political science, they have become synonymous with tyranny, intrigue, and subterfuge.

During the fourteenth century, Latin constituted the basis of humanistic studies, although humanists believed that the real source of classic beauty was Greek literature. Knowledge of classical Greek had practically disappeared in the west, and adequate instruction during the early Renaissance period was precluded by the lack of teachers and suitable texts. Boccaccio, as the first Renaissance figure known to have made any progress in the study of Greek, was the precursor of the revival of this language in the west. But it was left for Manuel Chrysoloras (c. 1355-1415) to reintroduce Greek thought and learning in Western Europe, and with him, the modern study of Greek may be said to have begun. As a native of Constantinople, his earliest contact with Italy came in 1393 as an envoy in the service of the Eastern Roman Emperor. About 1397, at the invitation of Poggio, Strozzi, and the Florentine magistrates, he accepted the newly established chair of Greek in the *Studium,* or University, of Florence. Students flocked to Florence to avail themselves of this opportunity. The need for a Greek grammar was supplied by his *Erotemata,* the earliest book of its kind. In addition to his work at Florence, Chrysoloras taught for a time at Pavia, Milan, Venice, and probably Rome. His work in Italy was continued by other Greek scholars, such as Bessarion and Trapezuntius, most of whom came between 1400 and 1453. The restoration of Greek in Italy was accomplished before the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, thus refuting the oft-repeated error that the revival of Greek was a result of the flight of scholars from Constantinople to Italy.

The fall of the Eastern Roman Empire, however, did strengthen Hellenism in the west by augmenting the influx of teachers. A zealous search for literary remains increased the scanty store of classical works in the west and served to transplant this literature to a new and fruitful soil. In 1423, Aurispa, an Italian scholar, brought 238 volumes to Italy. By means of copying and editing, these newly discovered works became available to a wide circle of students.

Humanism was dependent upon classicism; therefore, it was marked by a search for classical manuscripts. During the Middle Ages, there was little or no incentive to seek out and copy ancient manuscripts, for the primary function of such works was to supplement religious dogma. The humanists, however, used manuscripts for their literary qualities. Their enthusiasm led to such close scrutiny of these works that, in time, few new viewpoints and little or no inspiration could be secured from them. New authors, new manuscripts, and fresh points of view were needed if humanism was to progress. Few of the classical manuscripts found by the Italian humanists dated back to classical times; the greater number were simply medieval copies. Since the church had preserved learning during the Middle Ages, it was natural that scholars began their quest for manuscripts in the cathedral and monastic libraries of Italy. The search soon spread beyond Italy; the fragmentary knowledge of classical civilization was slowly but surely rounded out by the discovery of manuscripts in almost every stage of preservation and mutilation.

Petrarch and Boccaccio were the earliest leaders in the search. The greatest figure, however, was Poggio (1380-1459). An Italian, he studied Latin under John of Ravenna and Greek under that great teacher, Chrysoloras. This classical background gave him an interest, and his service as papal secretary gave him the opportunity, to pursue his quest for manuscripts. Secularization, not asceticism; humanism, not scholasticism, influenced Poggio. Although Poggio's work for the papacy covered those acrimonious years of the Great Schism, his labors were devoted to the resuscitation of classical studies and not to theology. His is one of the best examples of the contrast

between the humanistic and the scholastic mind: his interest was Latin manuscripts, and not popes, anti-popes and multifarious church councils. Among his finds were the *Institutes* of Quintilian; seven orations of Cicero, including his *Pro Caecina;* the history of Ammianus Marcellinus; twelve plays of Plautus; the *Dialogues* and *De Germania* of Tacitus; parts of Petronius and Livy; the *Silvae* of Statius; a fragment of Suetonius, *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus;* and others. In all, he discovered at least sixty noteworthy manuscripts.

The critical attitude of Italian humanism, as well as its secular aspects, was exemplified by Lorenzo Valla (c. 1406-1457), an Italian humanist, known as "the first critical history student." Through the use of internal criticism he exposed the *Donation of Constantine* as a forgery, thus attacking the claims of the papacy to temporal dominion. Using Greek texts of the Bible, he pointed out errors in the *Vulgate* and drew down upon him the censure of the church. His *De Elegantiis Linguae Latinae,* a scientific analysis of Latin grammar and style, for the first time placed the study of this language on a scientific basis. Contemporary scholars with their irregular and popular style were so provoked by the introduction of this standard style that they hurled invectives against the author; the fiercest aggressor was Poggio. Valla was a born controversialist; so reckless were his utterances against the church that he only escaped the anger of the papacy through the intervention of his patron, King Alfonso of Naples. After the death of Valla's inveterate enemy, Pope Eugenius IV, he was welcomed to Rome by Nicholas V (1447-1455) and given a position as apostolic secretary. Valla's entrance into the papal *curia* has been characterized as "the triumph of humanism over orthodoxy and tradition," and indicates the growing humanistic spirit of the Renaissance popes.

Giovanni Villani (c. 1275-1348), although a Florentine business man with interests more commercial than literary, is considered the most modern of medieval historians. His sole work, a *History of Florence,* consists of twelve books written in the vernacular, and is the cornerstone of the history of Florence during the Middle Ages. Like most medieval histories, this "Chronicle of the Universe" is

encumbered with Biblical and ancient history, of which the author had no adequate knowledge. The material of his own times is of greater significance. Although Villani was more a chronicler than an historian, his work is differentiated from most medieval histories by inclusion of material on the economic life, customs, and arts.

During the formative years of Italian humanism, the movement was largely in the hands of scholars or literary *dilettantes* whose objective was that of individual appreciation or enjoyment. There was no place for a scholar by profession, but within a brief period such progress was made in popularizing learning that it came to have its practical use. The early hostility of the church to humanism closed that avenue and left the state as the only institution for the utilitarian application of humanism. Salutati (1331-1406), as the earliest example of the humanist in politics, used his office as chancellor of Florence to bring classical learning into the service of the state. The interminable, petty wars among the Italian states increased the necessity, and consequently, the prestige, of diplomacy. The greater part of the work of Salutati's office devolved into "literary diplomacy," the writing of innumerable notes and documents. In the preparation of these diplomatic papers, Salutati went beyond the actual political and administrative necessities and incorporated in them much brilliant classical knowledge. So effective were his diplomatic communications that contemporaries said that a letter by Salutati was worth a thousand men. After this correspondence had served its political purposes, the most interesting portions were published as literary masterpieces. In his varied humanistic activities he studied Greek under Chrysoloras, discovered several significant Latin manuscripts, and directed the copying of Petrarch's *Africa*.

A natural outgrowth of the spirit of humanism was the formation of "academies," or voluntary groups of *litterateurs* and scholars with common tastes. Such groups, formed around learned men and wealthy patrons, were dedicated to scholarly discussion and criticism, rather than to methodical study. Renaissance Italy proved to be an especially fertile field for this movement, with Florence taking the leadership. The Platonic Academy, founded in 1438 by Cosimo de'

Medici, was the greatest of Florentine academies. This society enjoyed its greatest prestige under the patronage of Lorenzo de' Medici (1449-1492), and in its history numbered among its members Marsillio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, Machiavelli, and Michelangelo. As its name implies, the Platonic Academy was chiefly occupied with the study of Plato; its greatest influence, however, was not the contributions of its individual members to humanism, but its service as a model for similar societies in Italy and elsewhere. The Academy of Rome, founded about 1460 by Julius Pomponius Laetus, devoted itself primarily to the study of Latin antiquities. Additional academies were to be found in Naples, Venice, and other Italian cities, and, beginning in the sixteenth century as a consequence of the French invasions, in the cities north of the Alps.

IV

THE ARTISTIC RENAISSANCE

The effect of humanism, which so thoroughly dominated Renaissance thought, was felt not only in literature, but in the development of art as well. Just as the art of the Greeks reflected the life and culture of the time, so that of the Middle Ages reflected contemporary thought with its narrow limitations. The church dominated medieval art, as it did almost every other aspect of society; art became so inextricably bound with Christianity that it was essentially ecclesiastical in character and purpose.

Through association with religion, moral teachings of art became all important. The conservatism of the church restricted free development and prevented the retention of the classical heritage of Greece and Rome. There was no interest in perfection of form; figures became stiff and lifeless; characterization and individuality were lost. Under the thraldom of mysticism and convention, medieval art exhibited a fixity in subject and depiction, with the efforts of previous artists regarded as sacrosanct. Existing representations of sacred figures became so conventionalized that definite types were formulated, such as the portrayal of the Virgin always dressed in blue, and St. Peter carrying the keys. In addition to sacerdotalism, the inhibiting influence of medieval ignorance, superstition, and ascetic ideals prevented the study of anatomy. Man and nature were no longer studied, for interest in them was regarded as sinful. Lack of understanding of the principles of technique, perspective, foreshortening, and shading caused painting to degenerate into flat, lifeless portrayals. One of the greatest contributions of the Renaissance was the rediscovery of these principles, by which the painter created the illusion of reality, of three-dimensional objects on a two-dimensional surface.

The artistic standards of the Renaissance marked an enormous advance from those of the Middle Ages. Creative power and tech-

nical skill were revived; formalism was abandoned. Under the influence of humanism, art was emancipated from sacerdotalism and allied with secular interests. Secularization was accompanied by a renewed interest in man, nature, and life. Through the rediscovery of the Greek techinques of perspective, shading, facial expression, and emotional attitudes, significant developments were made possible in every field of the fine arts. Painting was the outstanding art of the Renaissance, for it is a more fluid and expressive medium than architecture and sculpture. Since painting is highly perishable, it retained fewer classical models than architecture or sculpture. For this reason, it was only slightly influenced by humanism except by the substitution of classical for religious subjects. Possessing no utilitarian restrictions, and few antique traditions, Renaissance painting was permitted to reach a higher degree of perfection than any allied art.

Another contribution of the Renaissance which immeasurably widened the field and clientele of art was the introduction of oil painting, which tradition has erroneously attributed to the two Flemish painters, the brothers Van Eyck (Hubert, c. 1366-1426), (Jan, c. 1385-1441). Actually, they perfected, not invented, the medium, which had long been known in Europe. The introduction of oils revolutionized painting, and was a decided step in the secularization of art, for until this invention, murals provided the main field for the artist's efforts. Oil painting not only changed the artist's status, but enabled him to paint smaller and less expensive pictures, and to secure private purchasers for his works.

During the Middle Ages, the great developments in architecture and sculpture had been made, not in Italy, but in Northern Europe, with its magnificent Gothic cathedrals and civic buildings. During the fourteenth century, this leadership passed to Italy, which offered many unique advantages of wealth and a leisure class to patronize and encourage the development of art. The municipalities and the church had been the patrons of Gothic art, which was essentially Christian in character; in the rich, populous cities of Italy, the wealthy *bourgeoisie* with their secular tastes became the chief patrons. There is considerable uncertainty about the beginning of the emancipation

of art; it may be said to have begun with the first signs of reaction against medieval traditions. The early Renaissance in Italy was primarily an age of transition in which the older forms and traditions were gradually supplanted by classicism.

The splendid achievements of the Renaissance in sculpture were heralded by the pioneer work of Niccolà Pisano (c. 1206-c. 1280), a sculptor and architect of Pisa. His first great work was a hexagonal marble pulpit in the Baptistery at Pisa, which he adorned with bas-reliefs representing scenes from the New Testament. In architectural design, the work is Italian Gothic; the sculptures, however, are mainly reproductions of the classic, particularly the rich carvings of the Roman sarcophagi. From the classical spirit of this work we may trace the development of the influence which was to break down medieval tradition. The most magnificent of his works is the great octagonal pulpit in the Cathedral of Siena. Since Pisano's works were derivative, they had little influence upon his contemporaries other than his son, Giovanni, who developed and extended the Renaissance in sculpture into other parts of Italy.

In the works of Giotto (1276-1336), the return to nature definitely begins in Italian art. Little is known of his early life, but he was probably born near Florence. According to tradition, his precocious artistic genius attracted the attention of the famous artist, Cimabue, who gave him his earliest instruction. In an era still dominated by the stiff, symbolical representations of medieval art, he broke with the conventionalized treatment of the human figure, began to study nature, and to draw from living models. New ideals of grace and beauty characterize his works. His figures are animated and full of expression, although the faces lack individuality; the drapery is no longer stiff, but falls in natural folds, contributing to the form and expression of his subjects. Like his contemporaries, his works are marred by crudities of style, faulty composition, and a lack of knowledge of anatomy and perspective. Giotto's works are chiefly religious in character; among the earliest that have been preserved are a series of frescoes in the church at Assisi, depicting scenes from the life of St. Francis. Giotto was an architect as well as a painter;

his greatest architectural masterpiece was the bell tower of the Cathedral of Florence. The English critic, Charles Ruskin, in his *Seven Lamps of Architecture,* said that power and beauty in architecture reached their highest standard "only in one building in the world, the Campanile of Giotto at Florence."

Fra Angelico (1387-1455), a Florentine religious painter, was another transitional artist. A Dominican friar, he led a holy and self-denying life, and so thoroughly incorporated this spirit in his works that he has been styled the "protagonist of pietistic painting." He treated nothing but sacred subjects. He attained the beauty of his effects by expressive faces, beauty of color, and arrangement; he was able to express the sacred affections upon the human countenance as could no other artist of his time. His early works are characterized by a deficiency in technique, but in time he eliminated the crudities.

Lorenzo Ghiberti (1378-1455), by a direct appeal to nature, broke through the narrow conventions that hampered the free development of sculptural art. In 1401, despite his youth, he competed against the greatest artists of Italy in designing models for the north doors of the Baptistry of Florence. He was declared the winner, and for twenty years labored on the doors, which in perfection of form and finish, as well as beauty of ornamentation, are counted among the finest examples of Renaissance art. A skilled goldsmith, he treated each of the twenty-eight panels of the doors as a delicate picture. The twenty upper panels represent scenes from the life of Christ, while the lower eight are devoted to the Four Evangelists and Four Fathers of the church. So greatly were these doors admired that the artist was commissioned, in 1424, to execute the eastern, or main portal. This second gate contains only ten panels, but on a larger scale than the first. The subjects are drawn from the Old Testament, and show greater advance in style and freedom of treatment. These east portals were completed in 1452; a century later Michelangelo pronounced them so beautiful "that they might fittingly stand at the gates of Paradise."

Another master of naturalism, Donatello (c. 1386-1466), was the most important Florentine sculptor of the early Renaissance. He,

more than any other, may be considered the founder of modern sculpture. At an early period, he was influenced by Brunelleschi and the study of classical models. Contrary to prevailing practice, his statues were complete and independent in themselves, and not adjunct to architectural ornamentation. He caught the finest spirit of the classical revival, but added to it his individual genius, touched with the expression of realism and nature. In revolt against the medieval ascetic influence, he portrayed the Saints not as old, emaciated men, but as tall, virile, muscular youths. He was one of the most prolific sculptors of the Renaissance. Even in his formative period, a high degree of ability was reached in the marble statues of Saints Peter, Mark, and George for the church of Or San Michele, as well as in a number of statues for the cathedral of Florence. In collaboration with Michelozzo, he made several monuments, including the tomb of Pope John XXIII. His later works are permeated with classicism; the influence of antiquity is visible in the bronze "David," the first statue of the Renaissance conceived in the round, independent of any architectural surroundings, as well as in a bronze equestrian statue of Gattamelata, the first of its kind since antiquity.

A new medium for artistic expression, that of glazed terra-cotta, was perfected and popularized by Lucca della Robbia (1400-1482), a member of a family distinguished in the annals of Florentine art. He was not the inventor of the process, but its application to fine sculptured work was original with him. In time, works made by his process became known as Della Robbia ware. Most of the works ascribed to Lucca are really those of other members of the family, the most famous of whom, Andrea della Robbia (1437-1528), a nephew, made a much wider use of terra-cotta and extended its use to architectural ornamentation. Another Florentine, Botticelli (1447-1510), was inspired by the literary influences of the Renaissance, and drew the themes for many of his pictures from the neglected field of classical mythology. Included in this group are two of his most imaginative works, "Primavera" and "Birth of Venus."

The Italian artistic Renaissance reached its zenith in the period 1450-1550, in the works of its three greatest masters, Leonardo da

Vinci (1452-1519), Raphael (1483-1520), and Michelangelo (1475-1564). Leonardo da Vinci was the incarnate spirit of the Italian Renaissance. Although born at Vinci, many of his formative years were spent in the nearby city of Florence, where he served his artist's apprenticeship as a pupil of Andrea del Verrocchio, a skilled goldsmith, sculptor, and painter. Da Vinci's work was of sufficient merit to warrant the patronage of Lorenzo de' Medici, as well as that of Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan. Under the joint commission of the duke and the monks of Santa Maria della Grazie, he painted on a wall of the refectory the famous "Last Supper," a masterpiece in the study of character. The Disciples, in groups of three, with Christ in their midst, are represented at one side of a table, their faces to the spectator. The scene depicts the moment when Christ has just said "One of you will betray me," and shows in the expressions of the Apostles the varied effects of the announcement. There is nothing to detract from the dramatic interest of the situation; the grouping and background are subordinated to the central figure of Christ, from whom the principal action emanates. Each group of three is harmoniously interlinked with the next, as well as to the central figure. The delineation of character is shown by a subtle mastery of pantomime and in the faces—the ineffable sadness of Christ, the villainy of Judas, the wrath of Peter. The expressive hands alone might tell the story if the faces were missing. Due to the dampness of the walls and the artist's experimentation in the method of *tempera* painting, the picture soon showed signs of deterioration.

More permanent, but also somewhat subjected to the ravages of time, is Da Vinci's second masterpiece, the "Mona Lisa" ("La Gioconda"), probably the most celebrated portrait in the world. The subject was the Neapolitan wife of a Florentine named Francesco del Giocondo. It is said that the artist worked on the portrait at intervals for four years, with music at the sittings to retain the subtle, enigmatic smile of the subject which is the greatest distinguishing feature of the picture. The mysterious expression of countenance, the wonderful hands, and the weird background cast an irresistible impression and draw forth endless critical comments.

Although Da Vinci's artistic career was repeatedly interrupted by other interests—engineering, architecture, mathematics, and nature—he painted many famous works, including the "Battle of Anghiari," a pictorial interpretation of his trenchant characterization of war as "bestial frenzy"; the "Madonna of the Rocks"; the "Virgin and St. Anne"; and the "Adoration of the Magi." His work as a sculptor must be judged from contemporary accounts; his greatest work, a huge equestrian statue designed and modelled for the House of Sforza, was never executed in bronze and the model was destroyed during the French invasions of Italy.

Da Vinci was only slightly influenced by antiquity, for his work was founded upon patient and thorough study of nature. He excelled in form and technique, was first to attain mastery of anatomy, and the first great master of light and shade. But it was his portrayal of emotion, with his command over the subtleties of expression, which made unique the quality of his art.

Raphael, a native of Umbria, was the epitome of later Renaissance art. From his father, a painter of some merit, he received his first instruction, which he later perfected under the teachings of Perugino, a master of the Umbrian school. In 1504, Raphael removed to Florence, which was in artistic ferment over the rivalry between Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci, and offered the young artist unsurpassed opportunities for development. He was destined, however, to achieve his greatest success in Rome, becoming pre-eminently the painter of the power and prestige of the papacy in its glorious hour before the Lutheran Revolt. In 1508, he was commissioned by Pope Julius II to help decorate the Vatican, which became a veritable museum of his works, containing such famous paintings as the "Disputa," the "School of Athens," and the "Jurisprudence." Leo X, successor to Julius, encouraged art and learning; during his pontificate, Raphael painted the greatest of his pictures. Upon the death of Bramante in 1514, Leo appointed Raphael as the chief architect of St. Peter's, and afterwards made him inspector of the antiquities and monuments of Rome. Many of Raphael's pictures are obviously designed to support the claims and pretensions of the papacy; included

in this group are the "Checking of Attila by Leo I," the "Donation of Constantine," and the "Coronation of Charlemagne." The works of the Roman period, when his life was drawing to a close, reveal strikingly the qualities which make him more nearly universal than any other artist since the Greeks. The greatest work in this period was the "Transfiguration." Death prevented Raphael from finishing this painting, which was completed by Giulio Romano.

Michelangelo, a Florentine, is regarded as the most prominent artist of the High Renaissance. Like his great contemporary, Da Vinci, he was a universal genius—a painter, sculptor, architect, engineer, inventor, and poet. By preference, he was a sculptor, but at the imperious bidding of Pope Julius II, he turned his genius to painting. For a time in his early artistic career he enjoyed the favor of that eminent patron of art, Lorenzo de' Medici, and lived in the society of the great humanists of the age. Later, he left Florence and went to Rome. The greatest work of this Roman period is the "Madonna della Pietà," in St. Peter's Cathedral, a masterly group representing the Virgin Mary supporting the dead Christ on her knees. This work won him instant recognition as the greatest sculptor of his day. Upon return to Florence (1501), he was commissioned to carve a huge statue intended to signify the deliverance of Florence from the Medici; he hewed the naturalistic statue of a youthful, courageous "David," the last work of his early, or realistic, period.

The second period of his artistic development was characterized by unbridled imagination. With the election of Pope Julius II (1503), he was called to Rome to build a great mausoleum which the pope wished to finish within his own lifetime. Due to political upheavals, and bitter quarrels with the pope, the monument was never completed. Of the forty projected statues for the tomb, only the majestic "Moses" and the "Fettered Slaves" were executed. The "Moses" is the greatest colossal statue in modern art, portraying Moses, with wrath and indignation frozen on his face, at the moment he sees the Israelites adoring the Golden Calf. At the command of the pope, the artist was forced to abandon work on the tomb to commence the

stupendous task of decorating the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. In four years (1508-1512) of resolute toil, he covered the vast vault with nine frescoes, each of which depicts an incident from the Old Testament. This work has been characterized as the most extraordinary piece of technical work ever accomplished; it exerted a profound influence upon contemporary artistic standards.

In an age disturbed by the invasions of Italy by Charles V, Michelangelo found time to work on the tombs of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici. The Medici dukes are represented by allegorical rather than portrait statues, seated high above the sarcophagus. On the lid of the sarcophagus are two groups of colossal reclining figures, "Morning" and "Evening," and "Day" and "Night." This masterpiece illustrates Michelangelo's highest artistic principle of carefully subordinating everything to one central thought, in this case the pensive, eternal sorrow of the powers of heaven and earth lamenting the death of the Medici princes. Commissioned by Paul III to complete the decoration of the Sistine Chapel, he painted his greatest picture, the "Last Judgment." This was his last significant achievement, for, in 1542, he was appointed architect of St. Peter's and for the remainder of his life devoted himself to this work.

To Michelangelo, physical strength was the highest manifestation of beauty and perfection; his works are characterized by a predilection for taut attitudes, depicting emotional and muscular stress. In few of his works does he attain repose, as in the "Madonna and Child" for the tomb of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Although often in the employ of the church, and a man of distinct religious feeling, his art was not submissive to theology. His aim was not to portray, but to express. Few men did more than he to destroy the meaning of traditional Christian art; it is difficult to detect in his works the play of any distinct religious fervor.

The most complete expression of the secularization of Renaissance art is to be found in the works of the masters of the Venetian school: Titian, the Bellinis, Giorgione, and Tintoretto. In an age when the mainland was subjected to foreign invasion, civil war, and disorder, Venice, through her favorable geographical position and stable gov-

ernment, escaped most of these calamities. The merchants of Venice possessed the wealth and leisure to patronize the arts; painting came to reflect the luxurious and purely secular tastes of a *bourgeois* society. The technical excellence of other artists was the heritage of the Venetians; unlike the Florentines, who were chiefly interested in the scientific study of form, the Venetians expressed themselves in a liveliness and charm of color which has never been surpassed.

Titian (1477-1576) was the greatest master and colorist of the Venetian school. Secularization characterized his art, whether in such magnificent paintings as the "Assumption of the Virgin," or in portraits, in which he excelled. Portraits appealed to the egotism of the worldly Venetians; unlike such masters of the Florentine school as Leonardo da Vinci, Titian did not attempt to analyze or characterize, but to please and flatter. So successful was he that he numbered among his patrons the Emperor Charles V, Philip II of Spain, and the most prominent men of Venice.

The development of art in Northern Europe was stimulated by the devastating Hundred Years' War, which drove much artistic talent from France to the neighboring commercial towns of Flanders. The patronage of Spanish officials and wealthy Flemish merchants served to encourage the development of a characteristic Flemish school of art distinguished from the Italian school, which had made itself felt even this far north. The artists of Northern Europe were inspired, not by a mystical passion, but by a wholesome feeling for common things and the everyday world.

The free use of the commonplace is seen in the works of Rembrandt (1606-1669), who discarded classical history and mythology and the medieval legends as subjects for his paintings, preferring, instead, themes from the daily life of the Dutch people among whom he lived. Life, character, light and shade, were his inspiration. The tone of his sacred pictures is unmistakably Protestant, with stern scenes from the Old Testament. A prolific and versatile artist, his greatest works are the "Anatomical Lesson" and the "Night Watch." The spirit which the Counter Reformation brought into art is brilliantly interpreted in the works of Rubens (1577-1640), the most

celebrated painter of the Flemish school. He was a master in the mechanical phases of art; his works, however, lack the grace, refinement, and profound imagination of the Italian masters. His religious paintings are fanciful and over-emphatic, as in the famous "Crucifixion" and the "Descent from the Cross." Another member of the Flemish school, Van Dyck (1599-1641), through his portraits of Charles I and the royal children of England, raised portrait painting to a new height of excellence.

The German Renaissance was comparatively poverty stricken in artistic genius; its greatest masters, Albert Dürer (1471-1528) and Hans Holbein (1497-1543), were inferior to the Italian masters who influenced them. Dürer is considered the greatest master of the German school; though a few of his portraits are excellent, he is chiefly known for his etchings, wood carvings, and engravings. No longer was art a luxury to be enjoyed only by the rich, for by engraving, Europe was flooded with reproductions available to the masses. Holbein was an engraver and woodcutter of note; he enjoyed the patronage or friendship of such eminent figures as Erasmus and Luther. His greatest fame, however, was in the field of portraiture. Leaving the Continent, during the early years of religious strife incident to the Protestant Revolt, he went to England, where he became court painter. His portraits of Henry VIII, his wives and courtiers, established his genius as worthy of comparison with the greatest of Italian masters.

The influence of humanism was shown in the most formal way in architecture. Churches and public buildings had offered the medieval architect the best opportunity for exercising his talents. Gothic architecture, which was essentially an expression of Christianity, was regarded with undeserved contempt by Renaissance architects. Gothic was Northern and Franco-German and never gained a strong foothold in Italy. This medieval type of architecture, with its fanciful and lofty lines developed in the cold, bleak north, where lighting a building was an acute problem. This necessitated the evolution of the flying buttresses, ribbed vaulting, and pointed arches which became the distinguishing characteristics of Gothic. With the de-

velopment of Renaissance architecture, emphasis was placed upon severely plain, horizontal lines, the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders of Greek architecture, and the gentler curves of the Romanesque. Gothic buildings were virtually skeletons of stone and offered little scope for interior artistic decoration other than stained or painted windows. The basilicas of the Renaissance, however, offered ample space on their walls, which artists covered with immense frescoes.

The revival of Greek and Roman architecture had its origin in Italy. The Roman tradition in architecture was a tradition of formula and precedent. It is a singular fact that the magnificent ruins of ancient Rome had never stimulated local architects. Such ruins were regarded merely as quarries for building materials. Irreparable damage was done before humanism created a realization of the value of the ruins and initiated efforts to preserve them. In the age of classic revival, Italian architects went back to Greece and Rome for their models and inspiration, just as the humanists went back to Greek and Latin manuscripts.

Such, then, was the impulse of the Renaissance in architecture, of which the harbinger was Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446). A Florentine metal worker by trade, he had failed in the competition for the bronze doors of the Baptistry of Florence, and, in 1403, went to Rome with the express purpose of studying Roman antiquity. His Roman studies, however, did not fetter his imagination, for his famous dome with which he crowned the cathedral of his native city did not follow the Roman form. The raised dome became the most distinctive and magnificent characteristic of Renaissance architecture.

Renaissance architecture culminated, both artistically and historically, in St. Peter's in Rome. Under the direction of Pope Julius II, Bramante, the chief architect, drew plans for a vast cathedral, which in size would surpass any ecclesiastical building in Christendom. Unfortunately, no continuous plan of design was executed, and the plans of the church became a plaything for artistic humors. Michelangelo saved all that was possible of Bramante's original plan, and created out of the confusion something aesthetically satisfactory.

Michelangelo's magnificent dome is a monumental piece of architectural genius. St. Peter's, colossal in conception and poorly proportioned, does not compare artistically with the supreme beauty of such medieval cathedrals as Chartres, Rheims, and Notre Dame de Paris.

The departure from the medieval artistic traditions is seen in the greater attention to purely secular architecture, which reached a high degree of artistic perfection and splendor in the luxurious palaces of the Florentine nobles. Such buildings offered an impressive contrast; their exteriors were built like fortresses, while the interiors were furnished with the greatest taste and luxury. An inner court provided light and air. These structures evolved naturally in an age of political turbulence and uncertainty, providing the owner, not only with a home, but with a refuge from attacks by mobs. The palaces were usually two or more stories in height. The first floor had strong stone walls with few doors or windows, which were heavily barred or shuttered. Since the upper floors were less subject to attack, the walls were thinner, the windows larger, and architectural ornamentation more profuse. Among the best examples of such buildings is the Medici-Riccardi Palace in Florence, built for Cosimo de' Medici by Michelozzo.

SPREAD OF THE RENAISSANCE

The development of humanism in Germany was influenced by, not dependent upon, Italian humanism, with its almost pagan devotion to classical learning and frank disregard of religion and morality. The Reformation has been characterized as the Teutonic Renaissance. But Germany's lack of culture and tradition provided a rather sterile soil for the seeds of the Renaissance. In this country, the universities became the seat of humanism, limiting its influence chiefly to a select group of receptive scholars, instead of diffusing it through society as in Italy. While not indifferent to the classics, German scholars turned more and more to the study of early Christian writers and the origins of the church, until they were amazed at the contrast between the simplicity of the apostolic age and the

ecclesiastical grandeur of their own times. Even before the beginning of the Renaissance in Germany, the idea of return to primitive simplicity in the church was carried out by a semi-monastic order, the Brethren of the Common Life, with its houses where men might live in community without taking monastic vows. The underlying principle of the organization was the development of better moral and spiritual qualities. Such communities with their schools and libraries were established in the Low Countries and adjacent parts of Germany; the most famous was the community at Deventer.

The founder of the "New Learning" in Germany was Rudolf Agricola (1443-1485), an eminent Dutch humanist, who, after a period of study in Italy, sought to make classicism an effective force in Germany. He is said to have founded the first chair of Greek in the north. Through his teachings at Heidelberg, he did much to diffuse a knowledge of Greek and the spirit of the Italian literary Renaissance. A fellow humanist, Johann Reuchlin (1455-1532), continued his pioneer work in Greek, but is better known for the introduction of the study of Hebrew. He had more than a mere philological interest in the study of this language. Imbued with the humanistic spirit, he used Hebrew as a key to the critical study of the Vulgate text of the Old Testament and to further his study of the *Cabbala,* an ancient system of Jewish theosophy, which he and other humanists, particularly Pico della Mirandola, regarded as helpful in reconciling ancient philosophy with Christian doctrine. In 1506 appeared Reuchlin's Hebrew grammar and lexicon, *Rudimenta Hebraica,* which he, with pardonable pride, declared to be the "first attempt to execute a grammar of the Hebrew tongue."

The greatest of the northern humanists was Erasmus (1466-1536), a native of Rotterdam. Through a long and studious life, spent in travel and study in the chief countries of Europe, he succeeded in suppressing every trace of nationalism and becoming a cosmopolitan figure in learned circles. After a few years as an Augustinian monk in the Netherlands, he studied at Paris, in England, and in Italy, acknowledged and honored as the greatest Latin and Greek scholar north of the Alps. Erasmus was not a great creative

genius, but few other men of letters have wielded so great an influence over their contemporaries. Unlike the Italian humanists, he studied the classics as an instrument of culture, not as something to worship and imitate.

Erasmus's prestige was enhanced by his reforming and liberalizing activities in religion, in which he insinuated his opinions without seeming to attack. He desired to reform the church and put Christian teaching on a sound foundation through education and appeal to reason. In conformity with these tenets, he published his most important work, a New Testament in the original Greek, accompanied by a Latin translation, exposing many errors in the Vulgate Bible. He favored also the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular and placing copies in the hands of the masses.

His gift for wit and pungent satire is shown in *The Praise of Folly,* in which he mildly rebukes the foibles of man. Folly is represented dressed with cap and bells and singing her praises, showing that to her are due the besetting evils of the age: the ambitions of kings, the corruption of the clergy, the ignorance of school men, and the superstition and credulity of the masses and the lower clergy. Although written in the tone of playful banter, it was inspired by a serious purpose—the necessity for ecclesiastical reform. The same spirit of seriousness clothed in banter is shown in his *Adages* and *Colloquies,* a series of dialogues on everyday topics of religion, society, and education. While favoring reform of the church, Erasmus opposed the Lutheran Revolt, seeing in its theological polemics a blighting influence on scholarship as great as that of medieval scholastics.

Geographically and spiritually the connection between the Renaissance in Italy and France was very close. The French possessed the innate capacity to assimilate the spirit of humanism, which was spread throughout Western Europe by their invasions of Italy. As early as 1458, Gregory of Tifernas had taken advantage of the growing interest in the study of the classics to secure appointment as a teacher of Greek at the University of Paris. The king and the liberals encouraged humanism; it is probable that the Renaissance

would have found in France even more favorable soil than in Italy if it had not been for such unfavorable events as the wars of Francis I and the outbreak of the Lutheran Revolt which served to stifle the Renaissance in France. Italian humanism was liberal and anti-ecclesiastical; when transplanted to France, these characteristics met with the disapproval of the clergy, the reactionary aristocracy, and the faculty of the University of Paris, who could see in it only the seeds of disorder and unrest. Francis I and members of his luxurious court appreciated the value of the new learning and gave it their patronage. The king's sister, Marguerite, Duchess of Alençon and later Queen of Navarre, became the greatest patroness of learning of her day. Because of the unfavorable Continental political conditions, particularly the incessant wars with Charles V which necessitated the support of the papacy, the clergy, and the upper classes of France, Francis was forced to listen to their dictates and curtail his encouragement of humanism. This conservative reaction retarded, but did not suppress, the movement. French humanism merely rid itself of its anti-ecclesiastical characteristics. Gradually, however, the old ideas and methods were abandoned, and, during the reign of Louis XIV (1643-1715), French culture and learning reached such a peak that this period is called the "Golden Age" of French civilization, and set the model for the other countries of Western Europe.

In England, returning travelers from the Continent brought back ideas which influenced a small number of Renaissance spirits. Among this group was Geoffrey Chaucer (c. 1340-1400), the first great English poet, whose works were influenced by the Italian humanists, Petrarch and Boccaccio. Petrarch's sonnets vitally influenced the development of Chaucer's poetic style; from Boccaccio, he derived lessons of plot and construction which are strikingly revealed in the plan of the *Canterbury Tales* previously employed by Boccaccio in the *Decameron.* Chaucer, however, did not follow his Italian models slavishly, but rather used them in a broad, free way, adapting them to his own literary needs.

After the close of the Hundred Years' War and the devastating Wars of the Roses, Henry VII (1485-1509) and the nobles were more engrossed in reconstructing the kingdom than in patronizing the new learning. The middle class and the scholars of Oxford furnished most of the zealous devotees of humanism, although a notable exception was Duke Humphrey of Gloucester (1391-1447). Not only did he aid many scholars, both English and foreign, but, in an age when books were rare, he collected a sizable library, which he later presented to Oxford University. Included in this collection were copies of the works of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio.

Greek scholarship in England was founded through the efforts of William Grocyn (c. 1466-1519), Thomas Linacre (c. 1460-1524), and William Latimer (c. 1460-1545). Grocyn was educated at Oxford, but was attracted to Italy by the superior learning in the peninsula. He studied Greek under two eminent teachers, Politian and Chalcondyles; on his return to Oxford he gave lectures on Greek, thus being among the first, if not the first, publicly to teach this language at the university. Thomas Linacre was also a member of that brilliant circle of Oxford scholars who popularized the new learning in England. He went to Italy to study Latin, Greek, natural philosophy, and medicine. He received the degree of doctor of medicine from the University of Padua. On his return to England, he did much to popularize the study of Greek by his lectures. Linacre, however, was more a scholar than a man of letters, and preferred to devote his time to his chosen field of medicine. He served for a time as tutor to Prince Arthur, and later as physician to members of the royal family. His greatest contribution to medicine was the founding of the Royal College of Physicians. Since he was not a scientific investigator, he employed his classical attainments in the translation of scientific treatises, notably the medical works of Galen.

John Colet (c. 1467-1519) was the most important of the English humanists. A graduate of Oxford, he later studied Greek as well as canon and civil law in Italy. He was little interested in the subjects which engrossed Italian humanists. He preferred to devote his

learning to the regeneration of religion. At Oxford he gave several lectures on the Pauline Epistles, in which he abandoned the antiquated methods of the scholastics and their search for hidden and allegorical meanings of the Scriptures, substituting in their stead the humanistic and literary approach. His moral enthusiasm, ability, and eloquence led to his appointment to the high clerical office of Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral in London. Despite this position, he continued his attacks on the old order in the church and advocated many much-needed reforms. At his own expense, he founded (1512) St. Paul's School for Boys, which was modeled on the Renaissance schools of Italy, with the control vested in a lay instead of a clerical council. Unlike the curriculum of contemporary English schools, humanistic studies were taught in St. Paul's; and it is considered the earliest school in England dedicated to the principles of the new learning.

The first significant English contribution to Renaissance literature was *Utopia,* by Sir Thomas More (1478-1535). One of the greatest figures in English politics of his day, he was also a member of that small coterie of Oxford humanists. The *Utopia,* written in Latin in the form of a romance, is really a witty, satirical treatise on government and society. Part one of the book is a sweeping criticism of the social, political, and religious evils of the England of his day. Part two is a description of Utopia, an imaginary island supposed to have been discovered by one of the companions of Amerigo Vespucci. In this ideal commonwealth the wrongs and abuses of society were remedied; men lived together under ideal conditions and enjoyed the best gifts of life. All goods and property were owned and used in common; learning was provided by a national system of education; all able-bodied adults were required to work a stipulated number of hours each day; religious dissenters were tolerated; war was made "humane." In this ideal state, however, slavery and monarchy had their place, based on the central philosophy of the book under which the good of the individual was sacrificed for the common good of society. The *Utopia* was not the first work of its kind, but was probably inspired by Plato's *Republic.*

BOOK TWO
THE AGE OF RELIGIOUS UPHEAVAL

V

FUNDAMENTAL CAUSES OF THE REFORMATION

The most significant event of the sixteenth century was the Protestant Revolt. The old interpretation of this movement as a *Reformation* is inapplicable, for it was more a revolt than a reformation. The word "reformation" implies alteration of the church from within; the movement begun by Martin Luther was a schism which divided the church into two major groups, Catholic and Protestant. The actual reformation of the church was the Catholic, or Counter Reformation, initiated by the Council of Trent after the Protestant Revolt had pointed out the necessity for reform.

In the general European disorder consequent upon the barbarian invasions, the Christian Church emerged as the greatest medieval contribution to civilization. Long before the opening of the sixteenth century, the work of establishing this institution throughout Europe virtually was accomplished. The medieval church must be thought of as a great international state, presided over by the pope, with its capital at Rome. This institution heeded no political boundaries, drawing its members from practically every nation of Europe. This universality is shown by the fact that it was possible for ecclesiastics to travel from one end of Christendom to the other with comparative ease and safety. Membership in the church was obligatory for everyone except a negligible number of Jews and Saracens. A person usually became a member in infancy and remained in the church until death. Conformity with the doctrines and practices of this institution was expected of all members; questioning of its authority and doctrine was punishable as heresy. While the constitution of the church remained fundamentally the same throughout the Middle Ages, the course of history shaped its evolution towards an absolute monarchy, virtually unchallenged throughout Europe.

The development of the church to its pre-eminent position rested upon its twofold function to civilization: it gave spiritual guidance

to its members, and took an important part in their secular lives. Its social services permeated every stratum of medieval life. Many of the services which are performed by the state today devolved upon the church during the Middle Ages. The church preserved the spark of learning and controlled practically all means of education; it dispensed charity and poor relief; it rendered noble service in the establishment of hospitals and care of the sick; and its holy days and festivals constituted the basis of medieval social life.

It is now apparent that the Protestant Revolt was the inevitable culmination of dissatisfaction against the church and would have come even if Martin Luther never had lived. Dissatisfaction was deeply rooted; Luther merely came at the psychological moment and supplied the articulate opposition needed for revolt. This desire for ecclesiastical reform was a protest not against the church but the abuses of the church; not against the papacy as an institution, but against the abuse of this spiritual office; not against the clergy but against their worldliness and corruption. It was felt that ostentatious wealth and extravagance were deviations from the Apostolic simplicity of the church; from time to time there was demand for a reversion to this early simple state.

Fundamental causes for dissatisfaction with the church were economic. Since the institution administered to the spiritual needs of mankind, it could not directly exploit its services to raise revenue as could secular institutions. The financial support of the church had to come indirectly through such channels as gifts and tithes. The problem of finance became acute during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as a consequence of the changing economic conditions in Europe, which were accentuated by the Commercial Revolution. An increase in the amount of specie in circulation led to a rise in prices. Since the basic revenues of the church were derived from endowments, its income was fixed and not responsive to fluctuation. Confronted with this problem of a stationary income and increased expenditures, the popes of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries recognized the imperative need for new sources of revenue. New papal taxes were levied, but the opposition to this increase of

exactions was caused not by the principle involved but by the application of this principle.

There was little opposition to local payments to the church, since the people could see a direct connection between these payments and their expenditure. The most important tax in this classification was the tithe, or the payment of one-tenth of one's income to the church. The tithe was obligatory; its payment was required by the laws of the church enforced by the state. Usually this tax was apportioned equally among the local priest, the bishop of the diocese, and the poor. Another form of local payments was the fee for sacraments, always theoretically illegal but exacted in practice. Originally, people made voluntary contributions when the sacraments of baptism and marriage were performed. The next step was to make these fees practically obligatory—an evil tendency which the church could not stop.

The greatest dissatisfaction with ecclesiastical taxation was directed against the payments to the papacy exacted from the laity, or from the clergy who ultimately drew from the laity. These payments to the pope were opposed because they were sent to Rome and not locally expended. Not only did the people fail to see any relation between their money and the services rendered, but the rising spirit of nationalism engendered criticism of this steady flow of money from the homeland to a foreign country. There were a number of such taxes. Peter's Pence was an annual exaction of one penny from each household in Christendom paid to the pope. Annates, or first fruits, were the first year's revenue from an ecclesiastical benefice. Offerings of the devout in jubilee years constituted a major source of papal revenue. The first significant jubilee was proclaimed by Pope Boniface VIII for the year 1300; he intended that such celebrations should be observed only once in a hundred years; but by the fifteenth century the normal period was every twenty-five years. There was no objection to jubilees on spiritual grounds, but during the later Renaissance period, they tended to have a more mercenary than spiritual character. Christians began to perceive that the chief motive for declaring a jubilee was the

profits which accrued to the papacy through offerings by the pilgrims. The crusading tithes, generally known as Saladin Tithes, were instituted by Gregory VIII in the time of the Third Crusade and were payable by all Christians who did not actively participate in the crusade. Even after the crusading movement had passed, the papacy occasionally imposed upon the clergy a crusading tithe. Ostensibly such payments were to be used for the promotion of crusading ventures, but actually they were diverted by the pope to other purposes. A similar tendency was shown in the exactions of "tenths" from clerical convocations to defray extraordinary expenses of the papacy. Court fees were a lucrative source of income. The pope and cardinals constituted the highest court in Christendom, civil or clerical. If the litigants were wealthy, the cases were evoked to the papal court in Rome for adjudication. Exorbitant court fees were charged; during the Middle Ages the tendency was to summon more and more cases before this tribunal. In addition to its endowments, the papacy held as fiefs such national domains as England and Aragon, from which it collected tribute in addition to the usual papal exactions.

Such abuses as simony, provisions, reservations, pluralism, dispensations, impropriations, evocations, and the sale of indulgences, which were partially economic and administrative in character, contributed to the mounting criticism. During the Middle Ages ecclesiastics and laymen generally recognized simony, the sale of church offices, as an abominable administrative abuse. The evil was apparent to the spiritual authorities, but its practice was too deeply rooted to be eradicated. The practice of granting provisions, or papal appointments to vacant ecclesiastical benefices, was condemned as an interference with local administrative prerogatives; it was contrary to the growing spirit of nationalism. This abuse was particularly prevalent in England, where most of the papal appointees were Italians. The practice of such appointees remaining at home and administering their benefices through a substitute violated the right of local control over the clergy and ran counter to nationalism. Closely allied to provisions were reservations, or promises of appoint-

ments to office when vacancies should occur. A reservation fee was collected from every prospective appointee, only one of whom could hope to secure the benefice. But the ambitious person did not need to be satisfied with one office. Too often the income from a minor ecclesiastical benefice would not support the holder; consequently, the practice of holding several offices, or pluralism, developed. This abuse persisted, despite legislation against it by the church. Italians, who enjoyed the greatest favors of the papacy, often held dozens of offices which they administered through their agents. An abuse which primarily affected the upper classes, but contributed little to the prestige of the Holy See was the system of dispensations. This practice of setting aside or relaxing the strict letter of the canon law grew out of the recognition of the universality of the church and the difficulty of the adequate observance by all its members of any single code. Consequently, dispensations from matrimonal vows, fasting, continence, etc., were granted in order to reconcile, so far as possible, the interests of the individual and society with spiritual needs. The growing complexity of society during the Renaissance led to an increased demand for dispensations; after the Babylonian Captivity, popes were not hesitant about selling dispensations to augment their revenues. By the practice known as impropriation, a great part of the income of the church was diverted from its original use. Portions of the incomes of benefices passed from the control and use of the secular clergy to the regular clergy for the maintenance of monastic houses; sometimes a proprietor, instead of appropriating the revenue to the church, would turn it to his own use or even sell it. It was also common for ecclesiastics to grant tithes to laymen in return for services or in recognition of their protection. The sale of indulgences, while one of the fundamental causes of dissatisfaction with the church, is significant because it was also the immediate cause of the Protestant Revolt.

The growing nationalism in Europe accentuated this disaffection. Little reform of such abuses could be expected when the opposition was individual and sporadic, but with the appearance of unified states, the opposition became national and persistent. During the

thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, England was exploited by the papacy in much the same manner as Germany at a later date. The chief grievance of the English, and the one which led to controversy with the pope, was the abuse of provisions by filling ecclesiastical benefices with foreigners, particularly Italians. Significantly enough, the first major expression of national opposition in England synchronized with the Babylonian Captivity, during which period the English conditioned their attitude towards the papacy upon their own relations with France. In 1307, during the reign of Edward I, Parliament condemned some of the practices of the church; but the question of papal prerogatives came to a head during the reign of Edward III. In 1351, Parliament passed the Statute of Provisors, which made the recipient of a papal provision liable to imprisonment and forfeiture of the benefice. Two years later, the even more important Statute of *Praemunire* directly attacked the appellate jurisdiction of the Roman *curia* and forbade the sending of papal letters or legates into the country. This act, however, had little effect in discouraging these practices. In France, this evil was not so great as in England. The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438) freed the French Church from the more objectionable features of papal supervision. Since this was an administrative and not a theological dispute, this measure, too, became a dead letter after the abuses against which it was directed were eliminated. The decree was repealed by Francis I, but by the Concordat of Bologna (1516), the French government secured an even greater control over the clergy. This nationalism of the church led to governmental opposition to the Protestant Revolt and the beginning of persecutions which drove some of the French reformers into submission, and others, like John Calvin, into exile. The effect of the Concordat of Bologna was to preserve French loyalty to the papacy. In Spain, the Crown, in 1482, assumed the right to nominate to bishoprics and forbade appeals from the ecclesiastical courts to Rome. Spain, like France, remained loyal to the papacy during the Protestant Revolt. In Germany, the papal ascendency over the church was confirmed by the Concordat of Vienna in 1448. The prevalence of

particularism and petty jealousy prevented development of national opposition, but early in the fifteenth century, the Imperial Diet passed resolutions against the abuse of papal prerogative. These protests were quietly ignored in Rome. In the remainder of Europe there was little evidence of opposition.

The rise of commercial and industrial interests increased the opposition to the exploitation of wealthy regions by Rome. The rising towns became the centers of anti-papal feeling and objected to any external control, either ecclesiastical or secular. With such control usually went financial exploitations, for, in the changing economic order of Europe, the wealthy urban centers constituted the best source of revenue. The Italian towns are a good example of this opposition. Through a series of alliances and adroit maneuvers, these cities freed themselves of papal, imperial, and feudal control, and took the leadership in the industrial and commercial life of Western Europe. In addition to exploitation, the economic life of the mercantile classes was restricted by the reduction of money as a consequence of the steady drain of precious metals to Rome. Here a great part of it was withdrawn from circulation, thus restricting the already insufficient monetary supply of Europe.

Decline of papal prestige was a fundamental cause of the revolt. In the centuries of political chaos following the collapse of the Western Roman Empire, the papacy, as the sole stabilizing institution in Europe, was forced to add temporal duties to its spiritual functions. In time, the pope was considered the supreme arbiter of Christendom in both spiritual and temporal matters. In addition to the Papal States, the pope held as fiefs the two European kingdoms of England and Aragon. These kingdoms were subservient to the Holy See when it was at the zenith of its power and nationalism was lacking; with the decline of the papacy and the rise of nationalism, both countries disregarded the claims of Rome. Encroachment of the church upon temporal matters could only lead to a lowering of papal prestige. Spiritual things must of necessity be higher than those of the world; participation by the popes in tem-

poral intrigues and controversies lowered the prestige of their office in the eyes of the devout. Lay rulers felt that the pope should content himself with administering the duties of his spiritual office.

Out of the resulting clashes between lay rulers and the papacy, no conflicts were of greater significance than those between the popes and emperors. Connected with ecclesiastical reform was the broader plan of wholly emancipating the church from secular control. Such a program was contingent upon the abolition of the practice of lay investiture. Emperor Henry IV (1056-1106) disregarded Pope Gregory VII's decree prohibiting lay investiture, but political necessity forced his humiliating capitulation at Canossa. Henry immediately renewed the struggle, emerging victorious over the papal pretensions. As a consequence of this struggle, the empire suffered a great loss of prestige, which, however, was balanced by a corresponding decline of papal prestige and power. The struggle was renewed in the reign of Frederick II (1215-1250) by his attempt to reduce the pope to a state of dependency on imperial authority, an outgrowth of the conflict between papal and imperial policies in Italy. Vigorous resistance by Gregory IX and Innocent IV to Frederick's pretensions led to a long and demoralizing struggle in which, on the whole, the emperor was beaten but the papacy suffered irreparable damage to its prestige as a universal power.

The conflict between spiritual and temporal power was held in abeyance until the pontificate of the next strong pope, Boniface VIII (1294-1303). His ideas of papal supremacy in ecclesiastical and civil matters were fully as exalted as those of his two great predecessors, Gregory VII and Innocent III. These medieval ideas brought him into conflict with the rulers of two rising nationalistic states, Philip IV of France and Edward I of England. Both rulers were taxing the clergy to secure revenue to carry on war against each other. Boniface issued the bull *Clericis laicos,* forbidding the imposition of extraordinary taxes by a lay authority upon the clergy without the consent of the pope. Philip retaliated with a decree forbidding the exportation of gold or silver, the effect of

which was to cut off French contributions to Rome. Edward declared that if the clergy would not contribute to support the state, the state could afford them no protection. Boniface protested and explained that he never meant to forbid voluntary gifts from the clergy or contributions necessary for the defense of the kingdom. Continued oppression of the clergy and diversion of ecclesiastical revenue reopened the struggle; Philip called the first Estates General, in 1302, to secure national support. Boniface issued the bull *Unam Sanctam,* proclaiming the subjection of temporal power to the spiritual. The issuance of this decree marks the zenith of papal pretensions; its impotence, the decline of papal and the ascendency of lay authority in the temporal sphere.

The death of Boniface VIII in 1303 was followed by the brief pontificate of Benedict XI (1303-1304). By his lenient policy Benedict restored peace with the French court, without compromising the dignity of the papacy or the memory of his predecessor. Owing to the French and Italian factions among the cardinals, it required the conclave almost a year to elect a successor, Clement V. Clement was a Frenchman by birth, but as Archbishop of Bordeaux, he was actually an English subject. His pontificate marks the beginning of a new era in the history of the papacy: the decline of spiritual and the ascendency of temporal authority. This transition was accentuated by the "Babylonian Captivity" of the Church (1305-1377). Clement refused to go to Rome for his coronation, preferring to be crowned at Lyons; subservient to the wishes of Philip IV, he remained in France throughout his pontificate. From 1305 to 1309 he resided at various places, but he finally took up permanent residence at Avignon, a possession of the papacy on the border of France. Actually, the influence of the French kings over the Avignon popes was very slight, but it was grossly exaggerated by disgruntled Italians. Few of the popes displayed compromising friendliness to the French rulers; such pontiffs as John XXII held the dignity and prestige of their office as high as any of their predecessors.

The Babylonian Captivity scandalized Christendom and contributed to a reduction of the moral influence of the church. While the

papacy at Rome had not been free from criticism, the Court at Avignon was attacked on political, social, economic, and moral grounds. Most Christians felt that Rome was the only rightful place for the head of the church. The papacy lost, to an appreciable degree, respect and support, as a consequence of the belief that it had become merely a convenient tool for French statecraft. The Germans had bitter quarrels with the Holy See; and England, feeling that the papacy favored France in the Hundred Years' War, curtailed her ecclesiastical payments. The absence of the restraining influence of the pope in Rome fostered lawlessness and license; the city lapsed into virtual anarchy. The turmoil was accentuated by the economic conditions incident to the loss of papal income; chaos in Italy was a contributing factor in the decision of the pope to remain in France where order prevailed. Religion suffered as immoral and worldly conditions permeated both regular and secular clergy. The dissatisfaction with the French papacy, however, was largely economic. Later popes were not content with the simple dwellings at Avignon and decided to build a pretentious capital. This building program and the establishment of an immense bureaucracy necessitated larger financial levies upon Christendom, which was in no condition to bear them. In this period, Europe was swept by the devastating Black Death; France and England were embroiled in the Hundred Years' War. Any increase of papal taxation in this period of economic maladjustment could only lead to resentment.

Pressure continually was brought to bear to induce the pope to return to Rome. Premature movements, such as that of Cola di Rienzi, were foredoomed to failure. Finally, St. Catherine of Siena initiated passionate agitation for the return of the papacy, and even went to Avignon herself to plead with Gregory XI. Influenced by her entreaties and by the restoration of order in Rome, Gregory recognized the necessity of restoring the papacy to its traditional seat. He left Avignon in 1376 and entered Rome early in the following year, thus ending the Babylonian Captivity.

Gregory died in 1378, and, in the election of a successor, the cardinals, intimidated by the demands of the Roman populace for

an Italian pope, appeased the mob by choosing Urban VI. This election was canonically valid, but was declared void by the French cardinals because of the disorder which had prevailed. The real reason for opposition to Urban probably was the revelation of his indomitable character. Instead of playing the supine rôle expected of him and tacitly consenting to continuation of corruption and immorality, he initiated arbitrary reforms. The dissatisfied cardinals, therefore, assured of the protection of the French king, Charles V, declared Urban's election invalid and elected Robert of Geneva as Pope Clement VII.[1] The Great Schism of the Church (1378-1417) had begun. Since Urban's election subsequently was held valid, only his successors, and not those of the anti-pope Clement, have been regarded as legitimate popes. Clement settled in Avignon, while Urban remained in Rome. Europe divided in its support of the two claimants, the division being more political than spiritual in character. The greater number of the Italian and German states, England, Flanders, and Poland supported Urban. France, Scotland, Spain, and the lesser nations in the orbit of France supported Clement.

Devout Christians urged the termination of the schism, since its injurious effects came at a time when waning papal prestige sorely needed bolstering. Secular power was strengthened by the concessions of the rival popes; spiritual power declined as Christians asked which pontiff was the rightful heir of Saint Peter. Oppressive taxation was a consequence of curtailed revenues and the cost of maintaining two papal courts. It was clear that the schism could be ended if one or both popes would resign, or the church would act through a general council. With the refusal of the popes to resign, the only solution left was that most feared by the curial party—a church council. According to the conciliar theory, supreme authority resided not in the pope but in the collective episcopate. There were many difficulties and problems to be solved before such a council could be held. Who would call the council? Who should

[1] This anti-pope must not be confused with the pope of the same name, Clement VII (1523-1534).

be summoned? Where would the council be held? How could decrees of the council be enforced? Since neither pope would call a council, the cardinals representing both factions finally invited all bishops to meet at Pisa in 1409. Both popes were ordered to attend; when they refused, the council deposed them and elected Alexander V. The refusal of the popes at Rome and Avignon to recognize their depositions or the election of the new incumbent thus not only failed to heal the schism but created a triple schism in its stead.

A second council was inevitable, and, in this crisis, Emperor Sigismund intervened. Under his direction, a larger and more representative council was convoked at Constance in 1414. The work of this body was threefold: to heal the schism, to deal with heresy, and to consider general reform. The question of heresy was disposed of by the outrageous condemnation and burning of John Huss (1415). The council refused to take the responsibility of reforming the church, preferring to leave this task to the papacy, but it drew up a list of abuses which the pope was to consider. Turning to the problem of the schism, the council deposed and imprisoned John XXIII. Gregory XII resigned voluntarily, and Benedict XIII was deposed after the Spanish withdrew their support. In November, 1417, the Great Schism was ended by the election of Martin V. In some respects the Council of Constance was a success. It healed the schism, but its attempt to abate heresy by burning Huss was tragic; its failure to reform the abuses of the church was to have important repercussions a century later.

All through the Middle Ages serious charges of immorality were preferred against the clergy and the failure to reform this abuse was a major cause of the Protestant Revolt. The root of the problem is traceable to churchmen whose training and moral fibre did not fit them for spiritual office, but who had entered the church merely because of its prestige and the advantages it offered. Many bishops and abbots deported themselves as secular rather than spiritual leaders, and they were not content to deprive themselves of luxuries and sensory pleasures enjoyed while laymen. Some of the higher clergy rode to the hunt and even to war and lived in pretentious

homes amid intemperance, gluttony, gambling, and other vices. The vow of celibacy commonly was violated; although this abuse was condemned by ecclesiastics and laymen alike, its existence permeated the church from *curia* to parish. Even marriage of the clergy was not unknown. In many instances the question of such marriages was settled by public opinion, with the demand that clergymen observe the laws or forfeit their benefices. The prestige of the regular clergy, in particular, suffered greatly from this abuse. These derelictions of the clergy were condemned by devout churchmen, who encouraged lay criticism in the futile hope that public opinion would serve to secure the observance of vows. Recognition of the crying need for reform is indicated by its prominence on the program of the church councils in the centuries before the Protestant Revolt. The councils recognized their impotence in handling this problem; their confession of failure clearly indicates the prevalence of immorality and the magnitude of the task of eradicating it.

VI

THE REFORMATION

Precursors of the Reformation

The credulity with which the medieval mind regarded the teachings of the church began to dissolve under the influence of Renaissance thought. The failure of the crusades struck a vital blow to medieval dogmatism; crusaders had faced dangers and hardships with the blessings of the church and the promise of Divine guidance. For the most part, the crusades had failed to attain their religious objectives; time after time, the Christian armies had been defeated by the infidels. When Emperor Frederick II led a successful crusade, although he was under the ban of the church at the time, skepticism began to appear and devout Christians questioned the efficacy of clerical promises and the value of crusades. Intellectually, the Italian humanists began to break with medieval ecclesiasticism and many even avowed themselves to be pagans. Germany, however, lacked the classical heritage of Italy and developed a humanism decidedly ecclesiastical in character. After penetrating into the origins of the Christian Church, however, German humanists were amazed at the contrast between the simplicity of the apostolic age and conditions in the medieval church. This fresh knowledge was to lead to insistence for clerical reform from *curia* to parish.

Another sign of the intellectual activity of the nascent Renaissance was the spread of certain heresies. The first of these was that of the Waldenses, a sect founded about 1170 by Peter Waldo, a rich merchant of Lyons, as a reaction against the ostentatious wealth of the church and as a protest against the worldly and immoral lives of some of the clergy. Waldo advocated the return of apostolic simplicity, and, in keeping with this tenet, he sold his property and founded a lay evangelical movement to reform the clergy and to preach the Gospels freely in the vernacular. His followers,

originally known as the "Poor Men of Lyons," went beyond the founder's doctrines and became gravely heretical. They believed the Bible to be the all-sufficient guide for religious truth and that laymen had the inherent capacity to interpret the Scriptures, to preach, and even to be priests and administer the sacraments. They renounced the doctrines, usages, and traditions of the church and held that the bestowal of the sacraments by immoral priests was invalid. These teachings struck at the very foundations of the church and the movement was condemned by the Council of Venice in 1184. The heresy spread widely from France into other parts of Western Europe. Spasmodic persecution diminished the number of adherents, but the movement long persisted.

The other heresy, that of the Albigenses, first came into prominence early in the twelfth century and was of a more far-reaching character. The Albigenses took their name from the city of Albi, in Southern France, a region where they were especially numerous. The genetic connection of this sect is with the Neo-Manichaeans of Eastern Europe; the doctrines probably penetrated into Western Europe along the trade routes. The rise and spread of these heretical doctrines in Southern France were favored by such circumstances as the wealth, leisure, and imagination of the inhabitants; their criticism of the corrupt, worldly Catholic clergy; and Oriental doctrinal elements from Judaism and Mohammedanism. Our knowledge of their beliefs is untrustworthy, for it has come to us largely through the writings of embittered antagonists. The mass of the Albigenses were not initiated into the Catharist, or more ascetic group, and were free from the more austere religious obligations and moral prohibitions. The Albigenses taught the dualistic doctrine of Manichaeanism, that is, the co-existence of two mutually opposing, creative principles, one good, the other evil. The spiritual world emanated from the former; the body and all material things from the latter. Life was an eternal warfare between these contending forces, struggling for the soul of man; since sex was held to be the chief weapon of the evil spirit in this struggle, the "perfect" were to refrain from eating anything sexually

propagated. They denied physical resurrection and the existence of Hell and Purgatory, for nothing could be worse than worldly existence. At death, the perfect soul assumed a celestial body, while a lost soul entered the body of some animal, preferably the one the individual most resembled in life. The Albigenses inveighed against clerical abuses and immorality. They rejected the Old Testament, infant baptism, and the sacraments of matrimony and the Holy Eucharist; they also denied the dogmas of the Trinity and the resurrection of Christ.

The grave social and moral disorders consequent to this fanaticism led Pope Innocent III to the decision to extirpate it. After conversion failed, because of local recalcitrance, Innocent, in 1209, ordered the Cistercians to preach a crusade against the heretics. The Albigensian Crusade, however, was more political than religious in character; under the leadership of Simon de Montfort it was carried on with relentless barbarity. In 1229, this political and religious struggle ended and the recusant Albigenses were handed over to the proselytizing Dominicans and the Inquisition.

One of the leading figures in the rise of theological skepticism was William of Occam (c. 1280-1349), an English, Franciscan monk. Along with such extremists as Marsiglio of Padua, his attitude towards the church was one of protest. His advocacy of return to the primitive austerity of the church, denial of the right of the papacy to exercise temporal power or to interfere with lay rulers, and denouncement of the evils of the papacy brought down upon him ecclesiastical censure. He held that the sources of religious knowledge were "authority, reason, and experience." His purpose was to show that human reason could prove neither the immortality of the soul nor the existence, unity, and infinity of God. These truths of dogma were known to us by Revelation alone and not as scientific truth. For him, the authority of the teachings of the church was based essentially on the Bible; he held that "A Christian is not bound to believe, as necessary to salvation, anything which is neither contained in the Bible nor may be plainly and of necessity inferred from what is contained there." Although he rejected the

rational demonstration of several fundamental truths of the church, he held firmly to these truths as a matter of faith, believing that they must be accepted *in toto,* either explicity or implicitly, because of one's Christian beliefs. His attitude towards the church of his day won for him the name of the "First Protestant," and his teachings were to exercise a profound effect upon the doctrines of John Wyclif and Martin Luther.

John Wyclif (c. 1320-1384), the "Morning Star of the Reformation," was one of the earliest heretics in England. He was educated at Oxford and later served as a lecturer on divinity in that institution. Although acknowledged one of the ablest teachers in the university, particularly in philosophical disputations, his world-wide reputation came from his participation in the politico-religious conflicts of the period between Edward III and the pope relative to the homage and tribute of the English nation as a fief of the papacy. Wyclif's ability as a theologian and his theories of the subjection of ecclesiastical property to the temporal sovereign, called him to the attention of the anti-clerical, oligarchic party, headed by John of Gaunt, the king's brother. Due to Edward's premature senility, John was virtual ruler of England and, under his patronage, Wyclif enjoyed freedom to express his anti-papal beliefs. At first, Wyclif's censure was directed against the political elements of the papal system, not against dogma. He worked zealously in the service of John to repress the power of the papacy in England, for at this time the pope was at Avignon and France and England were embroiled in the Hundred Years' War. It was probably his political connection, rather than any heretical doctrinal beliefs, which led to his citation to appear before the Bishop of London, a declared opponent of John. Wyclif attended the convocation, escorted by powerful friends; the court was immediately broken up by a brawl between John and the bishop, and Wyclif was saved for the time from formal condemnation. In 1377, Pope Gregory XI issued a series of bulls against Wyclif because of his alleged heretical opinions. The execution of these decrees was delayed, and he was thus given time to publish his answer to the accusations, in which he emphasized individual rights

and the need for separating religious and temporal powers. In 1378, he was summoned to Lambeth, but the session ended in an uproar when the crowd interposed in his behalf; he was dismissed with an injunction to refrain from preaching offensive doctrines. The beginning of the Great Schism in the same year contributed to his denunciation of the papacy.

Between 1378 and his next citation for heretical beliefs in 1381, Wyclif began the translation of the Bible into English; this work set the standards of English prose and gave the people access to the Scriptures in the vernacular. He began to send out his "poor priests," who stressed preaching and individual reading of the Bible. The position which made him a true herald of the Reformation was his assertion that the individual conscience needed no priestly intermediary between it and God; the sacraments of the church, however desirable, were not essential to salvation. Wyclif was proclaimed a heretic; his books were condemned to be burned and many of his followers were imprisoned or forced to recant. But no sentence was passed upon him; he was allowed to retire unmolested to his rectory at Lutterworth. His doctrines were condemned by the Council of Constance, and, in 1428, forty-four years after his death, his remains were dug up, burned as heretical, and the ashes cast in the river Swift.

After about 1387, Wyclif's followers, the Lollards, spasmodically continued his teachings. They grew strong in numbers and influence in England and Scotland and defied persecution by church and state, although some Lollards who refused to recant were burned at the stake. Persecution continued even down to the Reformation, which in England owed something to the work of this sect.

There was a close connection between the heretical movements in England and Bohemia, since Wyclif's doctrines cropped out in the work of John Huss (c. 1373-1415). Huss was rector of the University of Prague and of the Bethlehem chapel, the latter having been erected to supply the need for preaching in the vernacular. Influenced by the philosophical and theological teachings of Wyclif, he translated his *Trialogus* into Czech. In his early attacks on the

clergy, Huss declaimed against spurious miracles such as the statue of the "Weeping Virgin," and the ecclesiastical greed which permitted such abuses. Bohemia was already deeply permeated by evangelical and heretical tendencies, it also began to seethe with political unrest as a consequence of German political domination and ecclesiastical control. Open revolt against clerical and political abuses was held in abeyance for the lack of national leadership, which was to be supplied by Huss.

Huss was the real spiritual heir of Wyclif and it was his advocacy of the Englishman's doctrines which led to Huss's excommunication and the request for his attendance at the Council of Constance to defend his heretical views. His book *De Ecclesia,* based upon the doctrines of Wyclif, furnished most of the material for the charges against him. Huss and his co-religionist, Jerome of Prague, attended the council, under Emperor Sigismund's guarantee of safe conduct. This, of course, did not include immunity from punishment for Huss if his teachings were declared heretical, in which case he would be returned to Bohemia for punishment by the local authorities. After several examinations, in which Huss and Jerome refused to recant their beliefs, they were burned at the stake (1415).

The Hussites vehemently condemned the treachery of the emperor which had caused the execution of their leader and initiated a revolutionary movement for the defense of their principles. The Hussite Wars were precipitated after the death of King Wenceslas of Bohemia in 1419 and the accession of his brother, the emperor, to the throne. Under the leadership of Ziska, and later of Procopius, the Hussites repeatedly checked the joint forces of the king and the pope and even carried the war into Germany and Hungary. Among the Hussites, the radical Taborites alienated the moderate Utraquists, who favored reconciliation with the Catholic Church. At the Council of Basel (1436) agreement was reached between the Catholics and Utraquists by which the latter were given exceptional privileges. The Taborites, thus weakened, were crushed, but remnants have survived as the Moravians, or Union of Brothers.

The difficulty of reforming the church from within is well illustrated by the work of the Dominican friar, Savonarola (1452-1498). Mystical, given to dreams and visions, he claimed to be a special messenger of God with the gift of prophecy. He denounced the corruption and iniquity of the time, prophesying that God would send a scourge which would afflict, but also purify, the church. The invasion of Italy by Charles VIII of France, in 1498, was held to be the fulfillment of this prophecy. Inspired by Savonarola's fervent exhortations, the Florentines turned on the Medici, who were believed to be the chief cause of the city's wickedness, and drove the despots from the city. The friar assumed the leadership of the movement for political and moral regeneration, brought order out of chaos, and reorganized Florence as a republic. In this work he was enthusiastically supported. A proposal to reform the corrupt Roman *curia* and clergy and an alliance between Florence and France which endangered the designs of Pope Alexander VI for advancing the interests of his family, incurred papal displeasure and Savonarola was excommunicated in 1497. In the meantime, the sensuous Florentines were tiring of his political innovations and puritanism. A Franciscan friar challenged him to test his divine pretensions by an ordeal by fire. After all the arrangements were made, neither opponent appeared; when rain quenched the fire, the authorities declared that heaven was against the test. The people were led to believe that Savonarola had refused the ordeal, and, infuriated, they cast him into prison. After a mock trial he and two fellow victims were condemned to death "on account of the enormous crimes of which they had been convicted." They were hanged and their bodies burned.

THE LUTHERAN MOVEMENT

Martin Luther, the leader of the Protestant Revolt, was born at Eisleben, Saxony, on November 10, 1483. His ancestry for many generations had been hard-working peasants; his father, Hans Luther, was a rugged, stern, irascible copper miner. Amid the privations of poverty and the inflexible severity of home and school life,

Luther's boyhood was far from happy. By personal sacrifices his parents sent him to school at Magdeburg, and then to Eisenach. He began his brilliant university career at eighteen, when he matriculated at the University of Erfurt, with a view to studying law, in deference to his father's wishes. He studied the liberal arts course, taking his bachelor's degree in 1502 and his master's degree in 1505. In the latter year, he ranked second among seventeen master candidates. Although the university was permeated with humanism, Luther seems to have been rather indifferent to it.

In 1505, the course of Luther's life was altered from the study of jurisprudence to theology. While returning to the university after a visit to his home, he was overtaken by a terrible storm. Terrified by an alarming lightning flash and thunderclap, he made a vow to St. Anna, the patron saint of copper miners, to become a monk if his life was spared. This was a characteristic medieval act which he at once regretted. The fundamental motives for this inner change were later attributed by Luther to the harshness and severity of his life at home and school, which he endeavored to escape by entering a monastery. These reminiscences, however, were necessarily colored by his later experiences and feelings. Despite the opposition of his family, he entered the Augustinian friary at Erfurt, two weeks after taking the vow to St. Anna. As a novice, he took his duties so seriously that a distinguished clerical career opened before him and in 1507 he was ordained. During the winter of 1508-1509, he taught philosophy and dialectics, and continued his theological studies towards the doctorate at the new University of Wittenberg. A business trip to Rome, in the winter of 1510-1511, greatly inspired him, but also greatly shocked him by the worldliness of the church. In later years, Luther held that this visit to Rome was a pivotal point in his spiritual life and theological thought. In 1511, he was again called to Wittenberg as a professor of theology, a position he held for the remainder of his life.

These external incidents failed to touch the inner problems which agitated him as a monk and later caused his revolt against the church. Luther had entered the monastery tortured by the belief

that he was doomed to Hell; he kept asking himself, "What can I do to win a gracious God?" Dissatisfied with uncertainty in his relations to God, he strove frantically to gain salvation through good works. Although he won the reputation of a saint, he was dissatisfied with his new life, since his first consideration was to save his soul. From the writings of St. Paul and St. Augustine he developed a doctrinal conviction of the means of salvation which differed widely from the Catholic belief that the church possessed the sole means of salvation through faith and good works. In Paul's Epistles to the Romans, he found the verse (I, 17) "The just shall live by faith," from which he derived the basis of his belief in "justification by faith."

Although Luther had repudiated the value of good works, up to about 1515 he had not openly broken with the doctrines of Catholicism. After that year, however, he began to shift and become more critical. An early evidence of this change was his opposition towards the hierarchy. His next step was to attack the church because it had become institutionalized and had ceased to function for the purpose for which it was organized. This was a period of spiritual growth; the discrepancy between his beliefs and the teachings of the church had not yet crystallized. It was to be in the heat of conflict, involving the question of good works, that Luther was to reach his full stature.

The pontificate of Leo X (1513-1521) was characterized by lavish expenditures for luxuries and the promotion of literature, science, and art. Within two years, he dissipated the wealth left by his parsimonious predecessor, Julius II. To remedy this financial embarrassment, Leo was forced to doubtful expedients which could not fail to incite the opposition of devout Catholics. Due to the lack of national opposition, Germany became a fruitful source of extraordinary revenue for the papacy. In 1515, Leo proclaimed an indulgence, ostensibly for the reconstruction of St. Peter's Cathedral, but in reality to enable Albert, Archbishop of Mainz and Cologne, to discharge his obligations to the papacy and to indemnify himself for expense incurred in securing his archbishoprics. Papal agents,

the most famous of whom was the Dominican monk, Tetzel, preached the purchase of plenary indulgences. In their zeal for sales, the monks made unauthorized claims and promises which their critics considered misleading and as exercising an unwholesome moral and spiritual influence.

Many people were opposed to this practice, but no effectual protest was made until on October 31, 1517, Luther posted his "Ninety-five Theses" on the church door at Wittenberg. This act was simply an academic challenge to a disputation, not an open break with the church. Such disputations were common in the Middle Ages as a means of defining and clarifying truth and to train and quicken the faculties of debaters. Although the theses were written in Latin and were not intended for wide circulation, their publication produced a tremendous reverberation, for they were quickly translated into the vernacular and spread over Germany. Their popularity was due to the anti-papal note struck by Luther, rather than abstruse theological contentions.

It was the abuse of the sale, not the theory, of indulgences which Luther attacked. Indulgences were widely used during the Middle Ages as a supplement to the sacrament of penance. By penance the guilt of sin is forgiven by God upon contrition and confession; absolution by the priest is the evidence of that forgiveness. After absolution there still remains the temporal penalties for which Divine justice requires a satisfaction to be made, either by good works here on earth or by a purifying punishment in Purgatory. The penitent sinner is offered a means of discharging these penalties in this life through an indulgence, which is a remission granted by the church of the punishment which even the forgiven sinner would otherwise be forced to undergo in Purgatory. The principle of indulgences rests on that of good works. The church teaches that the performance of good works by every Christian is necessary for salvation. Since the saints and many pious men have accomplished more good works than are necessary for their salvation, their works of supererogation constitute the inexhaustible "Treasure of Grace," which is administered by the pope as he deems advisable for the benefit of

those lacking in good works. A draft drawn upon the "Treasure of Grace" by the pope, or his representative, the priest, is the indulgence. Indulgences are of several kinds, and are not a permission to commit sin, nor a pardon for contemplated sin.

The pope ordered the general of the Augustinians to make Luther recant. But instead of recanting, the presumptious friar continued his heretical outbursts and, with the assurance of support of the temporal princes, appealed from the pope to a general council. Unable any longer to dismiss the strife in Germany as a mere squabble of monks, the pontiff was moved to summon Luther to appear at Rome to answer for his heretical doctrines (1518). Luther did not wish to risk his safety by going to Rome; upon the intervention of his sovereign, the Elector of Saxony, the pope agreed that the papal authorities would treat with him in Germany. The church sent Charles von Miltiz as a special *nuncio* to Saxony to persuade Luther to keep quiet, or to cajole the elector to suppress him. In a meeting between von Miltiz and Luther, the latter was prevailed upon to make a qualified submission.

Still wider publicity was given to Luther's religious ideas by a debate on the general question of papal supremacy held at Leipzig in July, 1519, in which Luther and his colleague Carlstadt opposed the eminent Catholic theologian, John Eck. This disputation was an important factor in Luther's theological evolution. Beginning with the question of indulgences, the debate turned on the power of the pope to grant them and from that to the authority of the Holy See in general. After studying church history, Luther denied the papal claims that the office was evangelically instituted, declaring instead, that its supremacy was a gradual historic process of usurpation about four centuries old. Further, Luther denied that churches not in communion with Rome were for that reason schismatic. Eck skillfully forced the German friar to admit that some of these views resembled the heretical teachings of Wyclif and Huss, which had been condemned by the Council of Constance. Luther asserted that the council had erred, since many of the condemned heretical principles of Huss were in reality "most Christian and evangelic."

Luther had previously condemned Huss, but was now convinced "that we are all Hussites, without knowing it." He thereby virtually admitted that both the pope and a council might err and was forced to appeal to the Bible, as interpreted by his own reason, as the sole rule of conduct and belief.

Having formulated a religion of private judgment as opposed to religion of authority, separation from the church was the only course open to Luther. He continued to develop his ideas by debates and writings and soon found many supporters among other reformers. He enlisted the support of the humanists who opposed clerical abuses and the old Aristotelian theological beliefs. However, Erasmus, the great humanist of the time, refused to support the revolt, believing that a direct attack on the church was valueless and feeling that time and man's intelligence would cure the evils.

In 1520, in a series of three bold pamphlets, Luther vigorously attacked the church and set forth his program of reformation. In the first, *An Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation,* he declared against any especially instituted priestly order, and proclaimed the universal priesthood of man. He appealed to the German princes in the name of public order and prosperity to reform, by force if necessary, the abuses in the church and free their country from foreign control. In this work the doctrines of the church escaped practically unscathed, but in his second pamphlet, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church,* he assailed the papacy and the sacramental system and reduced the number of sacraments to three: baptism, penance, and a revised conception of the Lord's Supper. In the third pamphlet, *On the Freedom of a Christian Man,* he expounded his fundamental doctrine of justification by faith; by asserting man's utter dependence on Divine will, he held that the church was superfluous as a mediator between man and God.

Luther's opposition to the pope and the doctrines of the church was so critical that the Holy See abandoned futile negotiations and issued a bull condemning as heretical many of Luther's assertions. His works were ordered burned and he and his followers were threatened with the punishment of heretics unless they recanted

within sixty days. The appointment of Dr. Eck to publish the bull in Germany was both unwise and imprudent, serving to prevent the exercise of untrammeled impartiality by either faction. Luther answered the challenge of the pope by burning the bull of excommunication, together with the decretals of canon law, before the gate of Wittenberg, amid great popular enthusiasm. The break between the reformer and the Catholic Church was now complete.

As a denounced heretic, Luther should have been arrested by the temporal authorities and held for punishment. But his reckless, impulsive acts struck a responsive chord in the German princes and they prepared to defend him against the anger of Rome. In many cases the noblemen were not completely converted to the reformer's views, but only anxious that he should receive a fair hearing before he was condemned. The prevalence of particularism and the lack of effective imperial authority, after the death of Emperor Maximilian in January, 1519, contributed materially to the spread of Luthers' beliefs. With the election of Charles V as emperor, Luther found a foe who realized the need of clerical reform, but who was opposed to any change in doctrine. Charles came to Germany in 1520 to receive the crown; although only twenty years of age at the time of his election, he recognized the responsibilities of his office as ruler of the greatest Christian empire. To settle the pressing political problems of the empire, he called an imperial diet to meet at Worms in 1521. He was faced by an impending war with France and the more remote danger of the Turks. With these major external problems, it was essential that he relieve internal religious and political turmoil to prevent civil strife during his absence. Charles, by nature and training an orthodox Catholic, recognized the need for reform in the church. He felt that religious harmony through Catholicism would aid him in governing his heterogeneous dominions; recognition of religious independence in Germany would only breed discord throughout his empire and engender insistence for political independence as well. It was better to settle the religious problem, once and for all, with the other matters before the diet.

Charles was convinced of Luther's guilt, but since the reformer was a national hero, the emperor dared not condemn him without trial. Luther received the imperial guarantee of safe conduct to and from the council; his friends tried to dissuade him from going, reminding him of the fate of John Huss. To their admonitions, Luther is said to have replied: "I would go even if there were as many devils there as tiles on the houseroofs." He enjoyed a triumphal progress to Worms, in which he arrived on April 16. On the following day, he had no opportunity to defend his beliefs when questioned before the diet. He was asked simply whether he acknowledged a pile of Latin and German books, which were laid before him and read by title, and whether he retracted their contents or persisted in his views. To the first question, he acknowledged the authorship of the writings; to the second, he requested a day for consideration because of the importance of the issue involved. On April 18, he pointed out to the diet that the subject of his books varied. He defended the works on the evils of the church and papacy as irrefutable, but admitted that his argumentative writings were radical. These latter writings might be wrong, but they could not be retracted; they might be overdrawn, but they were based on the word of Christ. He said that if he had erred, it should be proven by the Scriptures. When asked to recant, he refused in memorable words which are traditionally, though perhaps not quite accurately, reported: "Here I stand. I can not do otherwise. So help me God. Amen."

The diet refused to recognize his argument that the Scriptures sustained him; acting under pressure from the emperor, who hoped for papal assistance in the forthcoming French wars, it reluctantly passed the Edict of Worms, declaring Luther an outlaw and putting him under the ban of the Empire. Meanwhile, in accordance with the imperial promise, Luther had left Worms. He was seized, with his own connivance, by troops of the Elector Frederick and taken for safe keeping to the castle of Wartburg. Here he remained in disguise for nearly a year, with few of his friends even knowing what had become of him. This residence at Wartburg began the

constructive period of his reforming career. In his treatise *On Monastic Vows* he declared vows to be wrong and invalid and urged monks and nuns to leave their cloisters. He also made a translation of the New Testament from the Greek text. This translation exerted a profound influence on the formation of the German language and provided the German people with a Bible in the vernacular. In later years, he added a translation of the Old Testament.

In 1522, despite the danger which still threatened, Luther was forced to leave his retreat and return to Wittenberg. During his absence, his colleagues, Carlstadt, Melanchthon, and the Augustinian friar, Zwilling, had carried on his reforms, but gave them a more radical character than Luther desired. His doctrines were distorted and dishonored; monasteries were broken up, images destroyed, and even the University of Wittenberg was turned into a bake-shop by Carlstadt, who held all learning to be superfluous. At heart Luther was a conservative and had been forced into the position of a rebel against the church; he recognized the need for doctrinal and administrative changes, but knew that precipitant action was inexpedient. By means of effective sermons he easily subdued the radicals and restored the reform movement to its original purpose. Throughout the remainder of his life, Luther retained a bitter enmity towards radicals. He and Carlstadt drew apart; in his persecutions of the Anabaptists, Luther was as severe as the Catholics and did not hesitate to side with them in attempting to extirpate the Anabaptist sect root and branch.

The spirit of unrest next cropped out in an uprising of the Rhenish knights, an impoverished group, in economic, political, and moral decay as a result of the rapidly changing conditions in Germany. Their greatest enemies were the powerful landlords, the so-called "large" knights. The grievances of the petty knights were economic and political, but, hoping to profit from the prevailing religious ferment in Germany, they tied their movement to Lutheranism. Since Franz von Sickingen and Ulrich von Hutten, the leaders of the revolt, were friends of Luther, religious reform was unjustly accused of breeding anarchy. In 1522-1523, the revolt

was easily suppressed by the disciplined and well-armed troops of the lay and ecclesiastical princes.

Despite momentary setbacks, the evangelical movement continued to spread and the Edict of Worms became a dead letter. A diet called by Pope Adrian VI, the successor of Leo X, at Nuremberg (1522), refused to enforce the edict, but demanded that a council should be called within a year in Germany in which the laity should be represented. A second diet, called by Clement VII at Nuremberg (1524), recognized the futility of stringent enforcement of the Edict of Worms and resolved that the edict should be locally enforced when possible.

By 1523, the spread and clarification of the reformed doctrines were abetted by a bitter pamphlet war which had broken out between Lutherans and Catholics in North Germany. While most of these broadsides were partisan, they satiated the enthusiasm of the people for knowledge in the days before the advent of popular newspapers and periodicals. Luther and his doctrines were the subjects of the majority of the pamphlets; in their glorification of the reformer, pamphleteers even drew a parallel between Luther's trial before Charles V and that of Christ before Pilate. Rabid, unsparingly critical, the opposing writers thoroughly aired the religious question, serving to popularize Lutheranism and crystallize the sentiment of North and Central Germany in its support.

The most serious menace to the new cause, and one which alienated a great number of sympathizers, was the outbreak, in 1524, of a great Peasants' Revolt in Southern and Western Germany. Although a class war, the insurrection was not confined to the peasants, but included the support of the lower class of townsmen. Their common enemy was the wealthier class, which was subjecting them to economic oppression. Germany was passing through a state of economic and social readjustment which bore heavily upon the poorer classes. Such outbreaks had occurred before, but they had been comparatively mild and free from widespread fanaticism. While the fundamental cause of the insurrection of 1524-1525 was economic, this was overlooked or ignored by numerous contemporaries

who gladly used the revolt as proof of the revolutionary influence of Luther's teachings. In the light of the religious controversies of the time, in which the simple peasant was held up as an ideal figure, the teachings of Luther were interpreted by the downtrodden as the beginning of a new era of social and economic justice. The rebels put forth several programs, the most famous of which, the *Twelve Articles,* consisted of such reasonable demands as the right of each community to choose its own pastor, restitution of appropriated common lands, abolition of serfdom and excessive rents and services. Any of these articles not in conformity with the Scriptures were to be rejected.

Meanwhile, the revolt was becoming more radical and bloody, with that ferocity characteristic of class warfare. In the absence of the imperial troops in the wars of Charles V, the princes refused to temporize with the rebels and proceeded to crush the revolt. To the peasants' surprise, Luther did not go forth to lead them, although in 1523 he had protested against the heartless injustices of the nobles. Luther was determined to keep clear of extremes; it was the danger of radicalism, of connecting the Lutheran movement with economic and social questions, which caused him to refuse the rebels his support. He gave free reign to his hot temper and furiously urged the princes to slaughter the "thievish, murderous hordes" of peasants like mad dogs. Although the princes literally followed his advice, they needed little encouragement. The undisciplined, ill-armed peasants were no match for their adversaries; the encounters were more in the nature of massacres than battles. The rebel ranks soon broke up in a wild flight for safety. Probably 100,000 lost their lives in this hideous war.

The Lutheran cause suffered an irreparable blow from the Peasants' Revolt by the alienation of thousands of peasants who believed that Luther had betrayed them. On the other hand, many lukewarm Catholic and Protestant princes felt that Luther's teachings had inspired the rebellion and cast their lot with the more conservative Catholic Church. As for social and economic results, the bonds of feudalism were drawn tighter around the peasants; serfdom lingered

longer in Germany than in any other European country except Russia. Intellectually, the sterility of German culture during the latter half of the sixteenth century is largely attributable to the stifling of the visionary hopes of the Reformation. From this moment on, Luther and his cause deteriorated, suffering a marked decline in spiritual aims. Luther became a mere theologian, while his religious movement was characterized by increasing emphasis on dogmatism.

Popular insistence for a church council could no longer be ignored. In the absence of the emperor from Germany, the princes called a diet to meet at Spires in 1526 to make an *interim* settlement, pending the return of the emperor and the convocation of a general church council. In this, the First Diet of Spires, Catholics and Lutherans were treated on equal terms. The great question before the diet was the enforcement of the Edict of Worms. In conjunction with the moderate Catholics, the Lutheran princes won a qualified recognition of their faith by an act, known as the "Recess of Spires," providing that "each prince should so conduct himself as he could answer for his behavior to God and the Emperor." In effect, this allowed the princes to choose between the two faiths and to determine the religion of their subjects, thus anticipating the principle of the Peace of Augsburg (1555). The emperor, seeing in the Lutheran revolt a powerful weapon which might be used with effect against the papacy, acquiesced in the promulgation of the "Recess."

By 1529, however, Charles had become reconciled with the papacy; with the affairs of his empire in fair condition, he called a diet to meet at Spires in an attempt to settle the troublesome religious question. The Lutherans found themselves a discredited minority, faced by a united, confident Catholic party. The religious decision of the previous diet was reversed, the Edict of Worms ordered enforced, and ecclesiastical property and jurisdiction held inviolate. This peremptory decision drew from the evangelical party a protest, which held that the agreement at the diet of 1526 was in the nature of a treaty which could not be abrogated without the consent of both parties. From this ringing protest the evangelical group became

known as "Protestants," a name subsequently given to all those who left the Roman communion.

By 1529, Luther's greatest Protestant rival was the Swiss reformer, Zwingli. Hostility was growing apace between the two theologians, thus weakening the Protestant cause. Adherents of the two factions recognized the advantage of uniting Luther and Zwingli against the common adversary. In an attempt to bring the contending Protestant factions together and effect a comprehensive evangelical union, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, called a conference at his castle at Marburg (1529). From the first, the "colloquy" was doomed to failure—the clash of personalities and the divergent theological and political theories constituted an insurmountable barrier. Fifteen articles were drawn up, fourteen of which were subscribed to by both Luther and Zwingli, but they could not agree on the fifteenth which dealt with the Holy Eucharist. Both Luther and Zwingli repudiated the medieval doctrine of transubstantiation held by the Catholic Church. Luther maintained his doctrine of consubstantiation, that Christ was with and in the bread and wine, as fire is in hot iron. Zwingli conceived the sacrament to be not the efficacious sacrifice of Christ, but simply a memorial, a commemorative service, with the bread and wine of the communion mere symbols of the body and blood of Christ. Luther was too much a mystic, too much a medievalist, to agree with the humanist Zwingli, the most intellectually modern of all the reformers. Tolerance was not Luther's nature; he always assumed that he had a monopoly of truth and regarded opposition as incited by the Devil. To his iron will, concession was the evidence of indifference or weakness. In addition to this religious *impassé* Zwingli's political aims, inextricably interwoven with his theological plans, were anathema to Luther. With the latter's refusal to make concessions, the best opportunity of uniting the two faiths was lost.

The decision of the Second Diet of Spires was unsatisfactory to both the emperor and the Protestants. In this taut moment, fraught with the danger of religious war, Charles called a diet to meet at the city of Augsburg (1530). He granted the Protestants a hearing and asked them to state their position in writing. The momentous task

of drawing up this document was entrusted to Melanchthon, a close friend and colleague of Luther. As an outlaw, Luther did not attend the diet, but aided his followers with advice. Melanchthon was at heart half Catholic and his gentle and conciliatory disposition was the antithesis of Luther's impulsiveness and hot temper. The moderate tenets of the "Confession of Augsburg" so appealed to the Lutherans that they became and have remained to this day the fundamental creed of the Lutheran Church.

The emperor and the diet were dissatisfied with the "Confession"; Protestants were given until April 15, 1531, to recant and return to the Catholic fold before coercive measures would be instituted. Threatened with the force of arms, the Protestants organized the League of Schmalkalden (1531) for mutual protection. Luther's avowed policy of abstaining from the use of force in the furtherance of his cause made him a very uncertain supporter of the league. Civil war was averted by the menace of a new Turkish invasion. Faced with this external danger, the emperor agreed to the Peace of Nuremberg (1532), which was to be a truce between the contending factions until the differences could be referred to a general council. Despite future strife and negotiations, the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 marked the success of the Lutheran Revolt. This victory was ensured by the incessant wars of Charles V, his continual absence from Germany, and the open connivance or aid of the German princes in religious innovations. Until the close of the wars of Charles against his old enemy, Francis I of France, in 1544, the history of the Lutheran movement is one tedious, drawn-out story of ineffective religious colloquies which merely preserved the peace of Europe by continuing the *status quo* of the Peace of Nuremberg. During this period, the new church was scandalized by the bigamy of its ablest political champion, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse. In *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* Luther had asserted that polygamy was preferable to divorce, on the ground that the former was not forbidden by the Scriptures as was the latter. On December 10, 1539, a dispensation was signed by Luther and Melanchthon permitting Philip to marry a second wife. Foreseeing the harmful effect this

sanction would have on his cause, Luther advised Philip to keep the matter secret and if necessary to "tell a good strong lie for the sake and good of the Christian Church." Soon the secret leaked out; while it created a revulsion of feeling against the Lutherans, its effects were only temporary.

Through the tireless energy of Luther, his writings, sermons, and administration, his church was greatly strengthened, contributing to its entrenchment in Northern Germany and the Scandinavian countries. The closing years of his life were characterized by virulent diatribes against any individual or sect so obstinate as to hold opinions which failed to conform to his own beliefs. Nevertheless, the years from 1525 to his death in 1546 were the happiest of his life. He symbolized his break with medieval asceticism in his *Vindication of Married Life* and his marriage to Catherine von Bora (1499-1552), a Bernardine nun, who had renounced her religious vows as a result of Luther's teachings. This step alarmed some of his followers, like Melanchthon, and gave his enemies an opportunity to revile him as an apostate. His domestic life was happy; in his hospitable home he cared for many poor relatives and students. His wife, children, and fervent disciples assiduously recorded his daily conversations and this *Table Talk* gives us an intimate glimpse of his thoughts and works during the closing years of his life.

The first general religious war in Germany—the Schmalkaldic War—broke out a few months after Luther's death in 1546. Charles, finally at peace with France and the Turks, prepared to suppress Lutheranism, although he maintained that he was waging war because of political insubordination. The strength of the Schmalkaldic League was more apparent than real. With the opening of hostilities, the Protestant army, under the incompetent leadership of Philip of Hesse and John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, proved no match for the imperial forces. Internal dissension among the Protestants and the defection of such leaders as Maurice of Saxony, cousin of the elector, strengthened the Catholic cause. Charles ended the war by crushing the Protestant forces at the Battle of Mühlberg (April, 1547).

After the collapse of the Protestant cause, Charles was in position to dictate a religious settlement. He recognized the imperative necessity of moderation in handling the question. As a temporary expedient, until the Council of Trent should reconvene, the diet passed an ecclesiastical settlement, the *Interim,* which made a few concessions to the Protestants, while remaining essentially Catholic in character. As a result of his unwise political policies, Charles incurred the hostility of all classes of Germans, who came to regard him as a Spanish interloper. As a result of the deft intrigues of unscrupulous Maurice of Saxony, who desired to expand his holdings, a coalition of disgruntled Protestants fomented an uprising to overthrow the emperor. The revolt was planned so carefully that Charles was taken unawares and was forced to flee beyond the Alps. While acknowledging the insurgents' victory, Charles refused to concede their demands for full recognition of Lutheranism. He empowered his brother, Ferdinand, to sign the Peace of Passau (1552), which again transferred the troublesome religious question to the princes. This peace was merely an interim until the convocation of the Diet of Augsburg in 1555. By the Peace of Augsburg, each prince was to be free to dictate the religion of his subjects; no form of Protestantism except Lutheranism was to be tolerated; all church property appropriated by the Protestants before 1552 was to remain in their hands; Lutheran subjects of ecclesiastical states were not obliged to renounce their faith, but by the principle of "ecclesiastical reservation," any ecclesiastical prince on becoming a Protestant was to give up the property of his see.

This peace, intended to settle the religious question of the Empire, contained the seeds of future strife; by refusing toleration of Protestant sects other than Lutherans, it laid the foundation for the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648).

VII

THE SPREAD OF THE REFORMATION

The Reformation was more active in Switzerland than in any other country except Germany. The Swiss Reformation was largely an independent movement. During the Middle Ages, Switzerland formed a part of the Holy Roman Empire; the three Forest Cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, however, were opposed to Hapsburg rule, and, in 1291, formed a "Perpetual League" for mutual defense against tyranny. The emperors tried vainly to make the region an integral part of the Empire. The two great victories of Morgarten (1315) and Sempach (1386) preserved Swiss freedom and added other rebellious cantons to the original league. Even the formidable armies of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, were routed, contributing to the ultimate annexation of Burgundy by Louis XI of France. Gradually the ties between Switzerland and the Empire were broken and, in 1499, Emperor Maximilian virtually renounced his rights of suzerainty. Thus, on the eve of the Reformation, Switzerland consisted of thirteen cantons, divided into the classifications of Forest and City Cantons. The latter were the more progressive and became the stronghold of the reform movement.

The position of the church in Switzerland had been weakened by its affinity to the hated Hapsburgs and by the presence of such heretical groups as the Waldenses. After 1500, all that was needed for a reform movement was a leader, who was found in Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531), the son of an influential Swiss burgher family. He received an early contact with clerical abuses, for while still a child he secured a benefice in the church. He enjoyed a liberal education at the universities of Vienna and Basel, where he became a zealous supporter of humanism. His study of the Greek classics and the Bible was the source of his later discontent with the church and questioning of its authority. Ordained a priest in 1506, he received the curate of Glarus, but his espousal of the papal cause

during the Italian wars forced his resignation by the opposing French faction (1516). He was transferred to Einsiedeln, the center of pilgrimages from Switzerland and South Germany to the miraculous shrine of the Blessed Virgin. In his sermons he denounced such pilgrimages as superstitious, attacked the granting of plenary indulgences to pilgrims, and favored reform of the shocking immorality of the clergy.

In 1519, while convalescing from the plague, he studied Luther's works and was probably influenced by them more than he subsequently admitted. Zwingli's opposition to the church was based, at first, largely on political grounds and directed against the practice of hiring Swiss mercenaries for the fratricidal wars into which the pope and temporal rulers were drawing his countrymen. In 1519, he attacked the sale of indulgences and succeeded in driving out Bernard Samson, a seller of indulgences. With growing boldness, Zwingli denied papal supremacy, proclaimed the Bible as the sole source of faith, and attacked fasting and the celibacy of the clergy. The papacy and the loyal Forest Cantons unsuccessfully tried to silence him. In 1523, the Zurich council adopted the reformed doctrines set forth in his Sixty-seven Theses and declared the independence of the canton from the Catholic Church. As a result of this upheaval, the veneration of the saints, celibacy, good works, indulgences, pilgrimages, images, etc., were denied or abolished. The reform movement swept over the City Cantons, but received determined opposition from the Forest Cantons and such heretical groups as the Anabaptists. In ecclesiastical administration, Zwingli deviated sharply from the Lutheran monarchial government under the control of the lay princes and set up a republican form of government subject to local administration. Having secured dictatorial powers over the religious and civil life of the city, he established a theocracy.

Zwingli and Luther were good friends during the early years of their respective reform movements. Neither sect was powerful enough to withstand determined coercive measures, if applied by temporal rulers at the direction of the papacy. With such a union of

the rival faiths in mind, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, in 1529, called the Marburg Conference. The common basis of the two sects was a theological one, but in the colloquy at Marburg, Luther was too much of a mystic to agree with humanistic Zwingli. Of the articles of faith submitted by Luther, agreement was reached on all but one—the sacrament of the Eucharist, or Holy Communion. Both reformers believed that the only value of this sacrament was the frame of mind in which it was taken. Zwingli thought of the Eucharist as a symbol; he had discarded the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, but at the same time he refused to accept Luther's doctrine of consubstantiation. With Luther refusing to make any concessions, the conference broke up and the best opportunity of the sixteenth century to unite the two faiths was lost.

Zwingli now gave his attention to the politico-religious problems which had split the Swiss Confederacy into two opposing factions. The Protestant (City) Cantons had formed the Christian Civic League, and looked to Francis I of France and the Protestant Germanic states for support; the Catholic (Forest) Cantons formed the Christian Union, supported by the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria. The Forest Cantons opposed the infiltration of Protestantism and Zwingli's social reforms, which, by condemning mercenary military service, threatened to end a major source of income. On the other hand, Zwingli objected to the pre-eminence of the Forest Cantons in the common bailiwicks, and their suppression of Protestantism. War between Zurich and the Christian Union was narrowly averted by the First Treaty of Kappel (1529), in which the Protestants emerged victorious by a Catholic concession which allowed the inhabitants of the Common Lands to choose between the rival faiths. In addition, the Christian Union was forced to renounce its alliance with Austria. The Protestants pressed their victory too far and only infuriated the Catholics. In 1531, civil war broke out, with each side accusing the other of breaking the truce. Zurich was attacked by Catholic mountaineers; failing to receive support from jealous Protestant cantons, Zwingli's army was routed and the reformer slain. By the Second Treaty of Kappel (1531), each canton was free to determine its own

religion, thus foreshadowing the solution of the religious problem in Germany by the Peace of Augsburg.

The sudden death of Zwingli left the Swiss Protestants temporarily leaderless, but the appearance of John Calvin (1509-1564) in Geneva, in 1536, gave the reformers a great theologian and an implacable foe of Catholicism. Calvin, a Frenchman of middle-class parentage, was born at Noyon, Picardy. The income from a benefice, secured when only twelve years of age, enabled him to receive an excellent classical education. He first studied for the priesthood at Paris, but in 1528 his father advised him to abandon theology in favor of jurisprudence. Calvin reluctantly began the study of law, first at Orleans and then at Bourges; to this study he probably owed the logic and precision of his thought. After the death of his father in 1531, he was free to follow his personal inclinations.

In 1529 Calvin is said to have experienced a sudden conversion to Protestantism. He was never an ardent Catholic and it is probable that his conversion was the result of a natural process by which he went over to the reformed group in which his family were taking their stand. On return to Paris, he was forced to flee in 1534, when Francis I inaugurated persecution of heretics. He sought asylum in the Swiss city of Basel, which had already accepted Zwinglianism, and here, in 1536, he published his *Institutes of the Christian Religion.* This work was an exposition of the Protestant position, as contrasted with the Catholic, and was dedicated to Francis I with the intention of influencing him to favor Protestantism. The *Institutes* became the basis of the Calvinistic creed. Calvin made God's omnipotent will the central fact of his new faith, reducing man to total insignificance. So sinful, helpless a creature could do nothing towards his salvation, either by the faith and good works of the Catholic Church, or the faith of the Lutherans. God alone could save through His merciful will; since He is all-powerful, He must know and has willed even before birth the souls that shall be saved or lost. This doctrine of election by grace, or predestination, was not original to Calvin, but became the greatest bulwark of his faith. Unlike Luther, who was ready to accept everything in the church which was not prohibited

by the Scriptures, Calvin insisted that nothing should remain which was not expressly authorized by the Bible.

In 1536, while passing through Geneva, Calvin yielded to the exhortations of Farel, a local French Protestant preacher, and established himself in that city. Geneva was in the throes of a political and religious revolution, in which the temporal authority of the Duke of Savoy was overthrown and the spiritual powers of the local Catholic bishop transferred into the hands of the civic council. Calvin was appointed chief pastor; since the inhabitants had renounced Catholicism largely because of political expediency and not spiritual conversion, his work of reform was a difficult one. Assisted by Farel, he introduced a Protestant confession of faith, binding upon all citizens, and instituted a program of moral discipline. In 1538, after the first flush of enthusiasm had passed, Calvin's arbitrary rule aroused strong opposition and the reformers were expelled. Under the rule of the Libertine party, license and disorder increased so alarmingly that Calvin was recalled and he remained in Geneva for the remainder of his life. Now, at last, he had the opportunity to establish his plan of church government, a theocracy in which he was both religious and political dictator. A constitution was drawn up which recognized the Congregation as a governing body, but the supreme power was vested in the magistrate, who was Calvin. He aimed to direct all the affairs of the city and regulate the social and individual lives of the citizens. An executive organ, the Consistory, composed of six ministers and twelve elders, was empowered to arrest and bring to trial any person who failed to comply with local standards of conduct. As its jurisdiction was spiritual and not civil, the punishment was imposed by secular authorities. In conformity with Calvin's belief that conversion should lead to a more austere life, divorced from worldly pleasures, the government repressed all forms of amusements and regulated the morals and private lives of citizens by severe punishments for any deviations from the puritanical code. These oppressive measures quickly changed frivolous Geneva into a sober commonwealth.

Calvin, the first Puritan, tolerated no contradiction of his views or regulations. He took full advantage of his emancipation from the papacy to formulate his beliefs, but denied this freedom to his followers. Beliefs inimical to Calvinism were extirpated by fire. The most memorable of such cases, and the greatest blot upon Calvin's career, was the burning of the celebrated Spanish reformer, Michael Servetus, for assailing the doctrine of the Trinity. Servetus had fled to Geneva to escape Catholic persecution as a heretic at home; the Geneva theocracy seized, tried, and burned him as a heretic for opinions expressed not in Geneva but in Spain. With the burning of such heretics as Servetus, and the expulsion of the defiant Libertine faction, Calvin's theocracy was firmly established.

The popularity of Calvinistic teachings and the establishment of schools in which the new theology was taught, caused ardent followers to flock to Geneva. Upon their return, they diffused Calvinism throughout Protestant Europe. On the Continent, Calvinism was known as the Reformed Faith; in France, its followers were called Huguenots; in England, it became Puritanism; and in Scotland, it was styled Presbyterianism.

During the Middle Ages, Scotland had been subjected to the abuses of the church, but the beginnings of the Scottish Reformation are to be traced to political rather than religious causes. Scotland was constantly torn by the rivalry of the powerful noble families, a condition that was intensified by the premature death of James V in 1542. The crown passed to his infant daughter Mary, and for several years the country knew no powerful central authority. Feudal lords used this period to strengthen their powers at the expense of the government. In general, the Catholic clergy, favoring law and order, supported the crown; the Protestants, hoping to strengthen their position, favored the nobles.

In the beginning, the Scottish Reformation was Lutheran in form, and, by 1525, was so far advanced as to call for royal interference. Heretical doctrines continued to gain new adherents, despite the energetic persecution initiated by Cardinal Beaton, head of the Catholic Church in Scotland, and the martyrdom of Patrick Hamil-

ton, George Wishart, and other Protestant reformers. The great protagonist of the Protestant movement in Scotland was John Knox (c. 1505-1572), whose espousal of Protestant doctrines forced him to seek safety in England and on the Continent. In England he held a chaplaincy under Edward VI and influenced the course of the Anglican Reformation in the liberal changes in the service and Prayer Book. The accession of Mary Tudor to the English throne in 1553 drove him and other Protestants to the Continent. While in Geneva, he made the acquaintance of Calvin, but Knox's theological views were moulded and confirmed rather than formulated by the teachings of the French reformer.

In 1559, Knox returned to Scotland, and, with the support of the reforming nobles, the "Lords of the Congregation," assumed the leadership of the Protestant movement. The death of the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, in 1560, left the Protestants masters of the religious situation in the country. Aided by the Lords of the Congregation and troops of Queen Elizabeth, Knox effected a political and religious revolution. A Parliament, composed of his friends, met in Edinburgh to settle the religious problem. The adoption of the Calvinistic *Confession of Faith,* drawn up by Knox and his associates, marked the consummation of the Scottish Reformation, and remained for two centuries the authorized Scottish creed. Papal supremacy and jurisdiction in Scotland were abolished, mass forbidden, and the Protestant religion officially established. In the latter part of 1560, Knox's *First Book of Discipline* was adopted, embodying an essentially Presbyterian conception of the ministry, modeled upon Calvin's theory of church organization as near as the differences between a small city-state and an extensive kingdom permitted. For the most part, the Scottish reformers took the Calvinistic views regarding the relations between civil and ecclesiastical powers.

The return of Mary, Queen of Scots, from France (1561), was regarded with forebodings by the Protestants. Confronted with mistrust, open hostility, and Knox's vituperative attacks, Mary tacitly recognized the Protestant reforms, merely reserving for herself the right of private Catholic worship. For four years, Scotland enjoyed

a period of tranquility, broken only by the rabid harangues of Knox and other ultra-Protestants. Mary soon discredited herself, however, by ill-advised marriages. In 1565, she married her second cousin, Lord Darnley; she came to despise him and formed an attachment with the Earl of Bothwell. In 1567, Darnley was murdered, probably by Bothwell at the instigation of the queen. Mary's subsequent marriage with the Earl alienated her subjects, who now drove her from the kingdom as a murderess and she was forced to seek safety at the court of Queen Elizabeth. After Mary's deposition, the Scots crowned her infant son as James VI and the government was placed under the rule of a regency, headed by Mary's Protestant half-brother, the Earl of Moray. The regency was disturbed by religious agitation, but it placed Protestantism on a secure basis and decided the ecclesiastical future of Scotland.

Although England had largely escaped the religious agitation and strife so characteristic of the Continent, there was a growing number of Englishmen, orthodox and heretic alike, who attacked the immorality and wealth of the clergy, useless monastic orders, and superstition. The ground was well prepared by such precursors of the Anglican revolt as John Wyclif and his Lollards. Although criticism was common and widespread, the solution for existing abuses favored by high ecclesiastics was that of the humanistic Oxford Reformers, John Colet and Sir Thomas More, who desired reform from within the church instead of revolution from without. Unlike the revolts in Germany and Switzerland, the English revolt was gradual and conservative, the act of the monarch rather than of the people, the motives personal and political rather than religious.

Although infiltration of Lutheranism was opposed both by the English church and state, the heretical doctrines readily gained a number of adherents. Henry VIII (1509-1547), proud of his theological attainments, hastened to champion Catholicism in his *Defense of the Seven Sacraments* (1521), which won from the pope the title of "Defender of the Faith." This appellation has been retained by English sovereigns to this day, but applies to the Anglican and not the Catholic faith.

It is doubtful that Henry would have broken with the papacy and initiated the English Reformation if it had not been for his desire for annulment of his marriage with Catherine of Aragon. He had married Catherine, the widow of his deceased brother, Arthur, in 1509, after Pope Julius II had granted a dispensation on the ground that the marriage had never been consummated. Catherine had borne Henry six children, all of whom had died, except a delicate daughter, Mary. Wishing to leave the succession to a male heir, he decided, in 1527, to secure an annulment and marry Anne Boleyn, lady-in-waiting to the queen. Accordingly, he instructed his Lord Chancellor, Thomas Wolsey, to secure the desired annulment from Pope Clement VII on the grounds that the original dispensation was defective. In the meantime, the pope and his French ally, Francis I, had suffered reverses in their wars against Charles V and Clement was virtually the prisoner of the emperor. The pope hesitated further to weaken papal prestige by reversing the decision of a predecessor, or to incur the enmity of Charles, the nephew of the English queen and a cousin of the heiress Mary. Clement in his dilemma could only temporize and delay. When the legatine court of Cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio failed to settle the perplexing case, it was evoked to the papal court for adjudication.

Incensed by this delay, Henry took matters into his own hands and dismissed Wolsey for his failure. The king now embarked upon a policy of clerical tyranny and intimidation and called the subservient Reform Parliament (1529-1536) to aid him. In 1531, he frightened the English clergy into paying a fine of £118,000 as a penalty for acknowledging Wolsey's legatine authority—a violation of the Statute of *Praemunire*—despite the fact that Henry had approved the appointment at the time. He wrung from Convocation acknowledgement of his supremacy in the English Church, "so far as the law of Christ will allow." By the Act of Annates, Parliament empowered Henry to suspend payment of Peter's Pence and annates whenever he saw fit. In 1533, he married Anne Boleyn and appointed Thomas Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury, who now declared Henry's

marriage with Catherine null and void and his marriage with Anne legal. The Act of Appeals forbade appeal to Rome.

The Act of Supremacy (1534) marked the formal breach between England and Rome by abolishing the pope's and establishing the king's supremacy in the Church of England. His arbitrary acts encountered some opposition, but Tudor despotism triumphed by persecution in which such Catholics as Sir Thomas More and John Fisher were beheaded. Mainly on economic grounds, in the period 1536-1539, Henry suppressed the monasteries and confiscated their property. He secured the support of the nobility in his religious policies by allowing them to share in these monastic spoils. A repercussion of this confiscatory policy was the outbreak in Northern England of the "Pilgrimage of Grace" in 1536. Although the suppression of the monasteries and other unwise legislation were the immediate causes of the rebellion, the fundamental cause was economic. It is significant that the rebels' banner bore a plow alongside the religious symbols. The revolt was checked, but conditions were not ameliorated by the execution of the leaders.

So far there had been no attack on the doctrines of the church, and Henry did not wish to go beyond political changes. He willingly adhered to the Catholic doctrine and refused to accept the teachings of the Protestant reformers Luther, Zwingli, or Calvin. At this time, Englishmen were divided into three major religious groups: Catholics, who still recognized the pope as the supreme head of the church; the king's party, who rejected the authority of the pope but retained the Catholic faith; and the Protestants, who rejected papal authority and Catholic doctrine. Henry's chief advisers, particularly Archbishop Cranmer, had strong Protestant leanings. They secured some concessions, such as the authorization of the "Great Bible," founded upon the translations of Tyndale and Coverdale, which was placed in every parish church for the use of the laity. To supply doctrinal needs, the Ten Articles of Faith (1536) were published, recognizing the Bible and the three creeds as the sole authority of faith. Three of the sacraments were accepted, but indulgences and Purgatory were denied. Anti-papal sentiment among the laity caused them to accept

these changes without any great opposition, and even the clergy made no effectual protest to the break with Rome. The Ten Articles failed to fulfill the doctrinal needs; in 1539, they were superseded by the Six Articles, which were eminently Catholic. They upheld transubstantiation, communion in one kind, sacerdotal celibacy, inviolability of the vow of chastity, private mass, and auricular confession. Severe penalties were provided for denial of any part of this "bloody act," and Henry proceeded to behead "traitors" who recognized papal supremacy and burn heretics who denied Catholic doctrine.

At the death of Henry in 1547, England was not Protestant. Henry had died in full theological belief of the Catholic doctrines; he had broken with the papacy only because it stood in his way of absolutism. The Church of England really did not become Protestant until the reign of Henry's son and successor, Edward VI (1547-1553). Edward was only nine years of age at his accession, so the kingdom was ruled by a council of regency, headed by the king's maternal uncle, the Duke of Somerset. Since Somerset, Archbishop Cranmer, and a majority of the council leaned towards the reforming party, an era of Protestant innovation was inaugurated. The Six Articles were repealed; English was gradually substituted for Latin in the services; priests were allowed to marry; all images were removed from the churches; and the use of holy water discontinued. In 1549, Cranmer's *First Book of Common Prayer,* the authoritative statement of the doctrinal beliefs of the Anglican Church, was adopted. After Somerset's deposition in 1549, his reforming policies were continued by his successors, but became more radical in character. By the Second Act of Uniformity (1552), an attempt was made to bring about a uniform Anglican Church. Transubstantiation was denied; the *Second Book of Common Prayer,* which was more Protestant in character, superseded the *First Book of Common Prayer;* and the *Forty-two Articles* of faith presented a doctrine based on the Lutheran confession.

At the death of Edward in 1553, an abortive attempt was made to continue the Protestant regime by crowning Lady Jane Grey, a cousin of Edward's, rather than the king's Catholic half-sister, Mary. Under Mary, there was a temporary reversion to Catholicism, which at first

received the favor of the English. Parliament rescinded all ecclesiastical legislation of Edward's reign, thus restoring the Anglican Church to the position of Henry's reign, with the single exception of the monastic lands. The Catholic party was strengthened by Mary's marriage with the Spanish prince Philip II, son of Charles V. The majority of Englishmen were still Catholics at heart, but many were alienated on nationalistic grounds by Mary's marriage. In addition to her religious views, Mary had an intense personal antipathy to Protestantism. As the daughter of Catherine of Aragon, the acceptance of the reformed faith would have meant the recognition of the validity of the annulment of her mother's marriage. The statutes against heresy were enforced and her uncompromising suppression of Protestantism won for her the unenviable title of "Bloody Mary." The number of Protestants executed during her reign amounted to about three hundred, an unusually large number for England. Among the martyrs were Archbishop Cranmer, and Bishops Ridley and Latimer.

The permanent establishment of Anglicanism came during the reign of Elizabeth (1558-1603). Free of the destructive Protestant radicalism of Edward and the Catholic radicalism of Mary, Elizabeth also opposed Calvinism as introduced by returning Marian exiles and attempted to stamp out ultra-Protestantism by persecution. She preferred to steer a middle course by returning to the system of her father, but this was impossible. The Catholics considered her illegitimate and denied her claim to the throne, as against that of Mary, Queen of Scots. The Act of Supremacy (1559) asserted Anglican independence of Rome and declared the sovereign the highest authority in the realm in both religious and civil matters. By an Act of Uniformity (1559) worship was to be in conformity with the new *Book of Common Prayer*. The final act of Elizabeth's religious settlement was the adoption of the *Thirty-nine Articles* of faith, which were distinctly Protestant, but studiously ambiguous to allow for future interpretations. In the Established Church the episcopal organization and ritual of the Catholic Church were largely retained.

Scandinavia was the one considerable conquest made by Lutheran-

ism outside Germany; as in England, the cause of the Protestant Revolt was political and not religious. In 1397, the three Scandinavian countries of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, had been united by the Union of Kalmar, under Queen Margaret of Denmark. Local administration was retained by each power, but control of foreign affairs was in the hands of the ruler of Denmark. The Union made Sweden and Norway virtual dependencies of Denmark, a condition which caused considerable discontent. In 1521, the Union was broken by the withdrawal of Sweden; Gustavus Vasa successfully led the movement for political and economic independence and was crowned King of Sweden in 1523.

With his kingdom ridden with debt and lacking adequate revenues, Gustavus embarked upon a program of clerical spoliation to remedy the financial problem. His diversion of ecclesiastical revenues to secular use met with no appreciable lay disapproval, for the opulence and splendor of the Catholic Church had excited envy and hatred in the impoverished north. Gustavus encouraged the preaching of Protestant doctrines by such reformers as Olaus and Laurentius Petri, and Scandinavian students from the University of Wittenberg. In 1527, the Diet of Västerås sanctioned the assumption of supreme ecclesiastical powers by the king, and decided in favor of Lutheranism and disendowment. Gradually, Catholicism was displaced by the reformed faith, and, in 1593, at the Synod of Upsala, the coping-stone was placed on the Swedish Reformation by the adoption of the Confession of Augsburg, the acceptance of the Bible as the supreme authority of faith, and adoption of Luther's catechism as the foundation of religious teaching.

In the same year that Sweden won her independence, Christian II was deposed as King of Denmark and succeeded by his uncle, Frederick I. The time was auspicious for a Protestant revolt. Christian II, an opportunist, favored Lutheranism as a means of increasing his power and weakening the nobility and clergy; in 1519 he imported a preacher of the reformed faith from Germany. Frederick I was a secret believer in Protestantism, but at his coronation in 1523, swore to uphold Catholicism. But, wishing to make the church

subservient to the state, he continued the policy of Christian in spreading Protestantism, and encouraged the migration of Lutheran teachers from Germany. The desire to share in monastic spoils gained for him the support of the powerful nobles. Protestant propaganda was so effective that in 1527, at the Diet of Odense, toleration was granted to Lutherans, the clergy were permitted to marry, and the right of confirmation of all episcopal appointments was reserved to the king. Upon Frederick's death in 1533, an attempt by the Catholics to restore the exclusive domination of their faith and to prevent the accession of Christian III, an avowed Lutheran, was defeated. His accession sealed the fate of Catholicism in Norway and Sweden; he forced the bishops to forfeit their temporal and spiritual authority, and their property was transferred to the Crown. In 1537 Lutheranism became the state religion.

VIII

THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION

From the outbreak of the Lutheran Revolt in 1521 until about 1550, the Catholic Church was on the defensive. After 1550, however, certain institutions began to arrest the progress of the Protestant movement, enabling Catholicism to survive and regain some of its losses. These institutions and their results, taken in the aggregate, constitute the Catholic, or Counter Reformation. Of the many reasons for the partial recovery of the Catholic Church, the most significant were the intrinsic excellence of the church and its institutions, the abolition of abuses by the Council of Trent, the organization of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), the Inquisition, the Index of Prohibited Books, and improved papal administration.

The most continuous, if less spectacular, of these reasons was the intrinsic excellence of the ecclesiastical organization. Criticism of the corruption of the church had been common throughout the Middle Ages, but even the most vociferous and caustic critic of the church could not fail to recognize that such corruption was attributable to a small minority. In a limited medieval society, restricted by feudalism and the gild system, the church offered the only democratic opportunity for advancement for gifted men, as shown by the careers of Hildebrand, Nicholas Brakspere, and others of lowly birth who attained the papacy or other high offices in the church. Contrary to the decentralizing, particularistic tendencies of the time, the medieval church evolved an excellent, efficient organization which enabled it to survive in an age of kaleidoscopic changes. In addition to its task of religious instruction, the church took an important part in secular affairs and assumed many functions which, in time, have devolved upon or have been assumed by temporal agencies. During the Middle Ages, clergymen were almost the only persons of education; consequently, they controlled education from the lowest to the highest

stages, a function which was not assumed by civil authorities until comparatively recent times. The church was distinguished for its charitable activities and the maintenance of such agencies for social service as hospitals, orphanages, and asylums.

The Catholic Reformation culminated in the Council of Trent, probably the greatest ecumenical council in the history of the church. For centuries advocates of reform had favored appeal to a general council as the natural remedy for abuses. Martin Luther had repeatedly asked for such a convocation and the success of the Protestant Revolt made a council not only desirable but imperative. Emperor Charles V was won over to this idea of effecting a "reformation in head and members" in the hope of conciliating Protestants and restoring religious peace in the Empire. The pope recognized the need for reform, but regarded the convocation of a council with undisguised aversion because of the obstacles in the way. Proponents hoped that the council would find some means of healing the rapidly widening breach between Catholics and Protestants and restoring the latter to the Catholic fold. In addition to the hostility between these two groups, there were bitter national rivalries, such as that between the Germans and Italians, and warfare between the two greatest Catholic sovereigns, Francis I of France and Emperor Charles V. The greatest obstacle, however, was the conciliar theory. At the councils of Constance and Basel, in the fifteenth century, the papacy had won a hard-fought battle over the theory that a council was superior to the Holy See. The issue was not definitely settled and the papacy preferred not to reopen it by calling a council and risk being forced to sanction unacceptable reforms and pretensions. A council would be influenced by the emperor, who had become almost omnipotent in European politics and who the pope feared might dictate the subjects of debate and usurp powers of the Holy See. In this eventuality, the dormant conflict between church and state in the Catholic world would be reopened. By 1542, Pope Paul III recognized that a council was inevitable and that the church could be saved in no other way.

As a result of the suspicion between pope and emperor and the national rivalry between Germans and Italians, a bitter struggle ensued in the choice of site for the projected council. The German prelates, fearing that the council would be unduly influenced by the Italians, insisted on meeting in Germany. The pope favored an Italian city for the convocation. When the emperor supported the German contentions, the pontiff finally consented to meet at Trent, in Northeastern Italy, barely within the borders of the Empire but on the Italian side of the Alps.

The first attempt to open the council was made in 1542, but since there were not enough delegates present to make it representative, the pope seized the opportunity to prorogue it. The first general session opened in 1545 and lasted until 1547; other sessions were held in 1551-1552 and 1562-1563. The tasks of the council were threefold: first, the reform of ecclesiastical abuses—the basic task; second, to heal the Protestant schism by doctrinal decisions; and third, the discussion of a crusade against the Turks. If the pope had made concessions as to a place of meeting, it was soon apparent that he was determined to keep the action of the council under his control. He was represented by three legates, who served as presidents of the body with complete control of the initiation of subjects for discussion. The vote was given only to bishops of the secular clergy and abbots of the regular clergy. The pope packed the membership with Italians; voting by head instead of by nationalities ensured perpetuation of Italian control. Protestants refused to attend the council, for they no longer regarded themselves as Catholics and knew that they could not get a fair hearing.

Immediately after the opening of the council, the emperor and the pope came to cross purposes on the precedence of questions for discussion. The pope desired that matters of doctrine be considered first, while the emperor demanded that the council should begin with practical administrative reforms. Finally, a compromise was reached by which it was agreed that doctrine and discipline should be considered simultaneously in every session.

The council was divided into conservative and liberal factions; the conservatives prevailed in matters of doctrine, while the liberals triumphed in administrative reform. On the question of dogma, the Catholics offered no compromise to Protestantism. No attempt was made to restate all the Catholic doctrines; for the most part only vital principles attacked by Protestants were defended. This uncompromising position frustrated the emperor's last hopes for reconciliation with the Protestants. Ultimately the Catholic Church gained from its uncompromising position, for it is probable that unless Catholic doctrines had been stated unequivocally, the church would have followed the Protestant example and broken up into divergent sects. The canons of the council declared that both the Bible and tradition—the mass of customs, papal decisions, and conciliar decrees—were the final source of authority and that the interpretation of the Scriptures belonged only to the church. The Protestant doctrines of grace and justification by faith were condemned; the Catholic doctrine of salvation by faith and good works was maintained. The seven sacraments and their efficacy for salvation were affirmed, as well as the miraculous and sacrificial character of the Holy Eucharist. Beliefs in Purgatory, indulgences, the veneration of images and relics, and the invocation of saints were upheld. Issue of indulgences and the bestowal of the sacraments for money were prohibited to prevent the recurrence of those pernicious practices which had been largely responsible for the Protestant Revolt. The reform of the canon law purged the church of many salient abuses. Simony and pluralism were condemned; episcopal residence was enforced. Seminaries were ordered established for the proper education and training of priests and a catechism was composed for the instruction of the laity. In the mass, Latin was retained as the official liturgical language, but the use of the vernacular was permitted on certain occasions. Communion in one kind and masses for the dead were retained.

By many contemporary individuals the Council of Trent was regarded as a failure, but time has shown that, although it did not placate the Protestants and heal the schism, it was the most beneficial of all the church councils. By its eradication of clerical abuses it

proved to be a real reformation from within. Its canons and decrees are still the authoritative standards of the church and mark a transition from medieval to modern Catholicism. Surprisingly enough, when regarded in the light of the pope's reluctance to call the council, the papacy emerged with increased power and prestige. The council practically surrendered the old conciliar theory of supremacy and affirmed the powers of the pope in government and faith.

An important factor in the Catholic revival and the checking of the Protestant Revolt was the formation of several new religious orders which sought not only to save souls and bulwark the position of the church but to ameliorate social conditions as well. The orders founded during this period included the Theatines, Capuchins, Barnabites, Somascians, and Ursulines. The most celebrated, however, was the Society of Jesus, founded by Ignatius Loyola.

Loyola was a Spanish nobleman who was forced to abandon his career of a professional soldier when permanently lamed from a wound suffered during the defense of the fortress of Pampeluna (1521) in the wars between Charles V and Francis I. His convalescence was slow, and to relieve the tedium of confinement he read lives of Christ and the saints. These readings created within him a a spiritual enthusiasm and the achievements of St. Francis and St. Dominic came to replace deeds of chivalrous knights in his imagination. After passing through a period of religious purification, he renounced worldliness and the pursuit of arms and came forth with zeal to become a crusader against the enemies of the church.

Thus began Loyola's career of indomitable religious fervor. He visited the Holy Land, but the authorities at Jerusalem feared that his imprudent attempt to propagate the Gospels among the infidels would cause an outbreak of the fanatical Turks and sent him back home. Upon return to Spain in 1524, he realized that his inadequate education constituted a barrier to religious teaching or advancement within the church and, at the age of thirty-three, he began the study of Latin grammar. After two years, with a modicum of learning in the classics and arts, he entered the University of Alcalá and later Salamanca. For some unauthorized attempts at religious teaching

he incurred the censure of the authorities and was forced to leave Spain and enter the University of Paris to complete his education. By a coincidence, Loyola and his later Protestant antipode, John Calvin, were fellow students at Paris. Loyola's student days were characterized by poverty and hardship; his religious zeal caused him to be publicly whipped by the college officials as a dangerous fanatic. Although he acquired no great erudition in his studies, he gained several loyal adherents and many practical advantages which were to prove of incalculable service to him in his later work.

With followers of unusual ability, he formed a pious fraternity, out of which he later developed the Society of Jesus. In 1534, this little company of seven consecrated their union by taking vows to live in poverty and chastity and to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Their original purpose was to evangelize Palestine, but war between Christians and Mohammedans closed the way to the Holy Land. After some delay, Loyola and his followers went to Rome and offered their services to the pope. Although his little band had prospered most remarkably without superior, rule, or tradition, Loyola saw the necessity of union and means of training postulants to preserve the organization. In 1539, he submitted to Pope Paul III the rule of the proposed order, the great aim of which was expressed in the motto *Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam* (To the Greater Glory of God). In spite of opposition to erecting another religious order within the church, the Society of Jesus was approved by the pope in 1540. The original title suggested by Loyola for the organization was the "Company of Jesus," which indicated its true leader and its militant spirit; in the papal bull of foundation, however, it was called the "Society of Jesus."

The objects of the Society of Jesus were missionary activity, preaching, directing the conscience, and education. Under the direction of the Holy See, the Jesuits prepared to combat heresy by education, becoming the most persistent missionaries of the sixteenth century. Through their efforts the defection of Poland to Lutheranism was checked; Catholics in England and Ireland were aided during the Anglican Revolt; and Catholicism was preserved in the Southern

Netherlands (Belgium) and Bavaria. In the conversion of the heathen, the Jesuits outstripped the older orders of the church. Their work was one of civilization as well as of religion and much of our knowledge of early America came from the accounts of Jesuit missionaries who boldly penetrated into regions hitherto unknown to Europeans. Their work in the Far East, however, was not marked by the success which characterized their endeavors in the New World. The greatest of the missionaries in the east was Francis Xavier, one of Loyola's original band, who carried his work into India, Cochin-China, the Moluccas, and Japan. But like most Jesuit missionary activity in the orient, this work was superficial and had little lasting effect.

Loyola recognized the importance of education as a means of advancing religion and had, after much privation, secured sufficient education to enable him to hold his own in the company of more learned men. But the advancement of the order, and, of more importance still, the extirpation of heresy, were dependent upon education. Consequently, the Jesuits were the first to make education the special ministry of a religious order. Loyola felt that ultimately more could be accomplished by moulding the impressionable minds of youth than in endeavoring to win the mature minds of adults. Members of the order were subjected to a rigorous and thorough period of education, and became the equal of any teachers in Europe. In all the stages of education they strove to develop the best methods of instruction and did not hesitate to adopt some educational methods of their bitter rivals, the Protestants. In carrying out their extensive and unified plan of education, they established schools wherever they went—whether among cultivated Europeans or naked savages. Jesuit colleges acquired high reputation for efficiency and thoroughness, which they have retained to this day. Often, Jesuits managed to become the confessors of the Catholic sovereigns of Europe and through this intimate contact gained their confidence and wielded a powerful political influence.

The organization of the Jesuits, their discipline, and gradations of authority showed the influence of Loyola's military training. After

acceptance into the order, the novice began a period of severe training to learn obedience and complete subordination to authority. There were four grades of members: novices; scholastics; coadjutators, spiritual and temporal; and professed of the four vows. During the two years of probationary training, the novice took no vows, devoting himself to prayer, meditation, ascetic reading and practices, and the study of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises.* After this period of disciplinary training, in which every trace of individual will was suppressed in the interest of the order, the successful candidate took the threefold obligations, common to all Catholic religious orders, of chastity, poverty, and obedience, and became a scholastic. A long period of study was devoted to the course in liberal arts and on graduation the scholastic was sent to teach. A select group of gifted scholastics were admitted to Holy Orders and elevated to the rank of spiritual coadjutator to assist the Professed Fathers in preaching, teaching, and the guidance of souls. Members unsuited to serve either as priests or teachers were classified as temporal coadjutators, or lay-brothers, to whom minor offices of the society were assigned. After an extended period of preparation, the spiritual coadjutators took a fourth vow, that of special and unalterable obedience to the pope, and were elevated to the fourth and highest grade, that of the Professed of the Four Vows. Although a small minority of the total membership, the Professed composed the society in the strict sense of the word, for it was this group which directed the government of the organization and from which the chief officials were chosen.

The government of the Society of Jesus was planned to produce a military type of efficiency and, though often spoken of as autocratic, was a striking example of a limited constitutional authority. At the head of the society was the general, elected for life by a general congregation of the Professed. The general had supreme power, subject only to the pope, the constitutions of the society, and the general assemblies or congregations. For effective government and administration, the Jesuits created *Assistancies,* or provinces, formed mainly according to the principal European languages. The members of the order enjoyed some exemptions from the more austere

practices of other religious orders; they were not required to live in monasteries, and had no distinctive dress, thus permitting freer activity in the world.

Jesuits conceived themselves as the "Soldiers of the Pope," gave unquestioned obedience, and gladly assumed arduous duties for the glory of the church. The society was made up of enthusiasts who too often felt that the ends justified the means. Jesuits occupied high positions at European courts, where frequently they incurred the hostility of clerics and laymen alike. They were banned successively by the governments of Europe and finally suppressed by Clement XIV, in 1773, for "the peace of the church." The suppression of the order was only temporary, for rehabilitation was soon under way; it was formally re-established by Pius VII in 1814.

The Catholic Church did not rely solely upon persuasion to check the growth of heresy, but through the revitalized Inquisition coercion was used as well. The presence of heresy and rigorous attempts to suppress it were evident in the early years of the Christian Church. By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the activities of such sects as the Waldenses and Albigenses aroused the church to the necessity of evolving some method of combating heresy which would prove more effective in securing evidence and convictions than the local tribunals of the bishops. A major step in the evolution of the Inquisition came during the pontificate of Innocent III (1198-1216), who used inquisitorial procedure to supplement accusation and to surmount the difficulty of securing evidence in cases of heresy. The efforts of the inquisitorial courts were still haphazard and spasmodic; the organization of the system into a regular, efficient tribunal was the work of Gregory IX (1227-1241), who may, therefore, be considered the founder of the Inquisition. He withdrew the suppression of heresy from the courts of the bishops and appointed Dominicans and Franciscans, who by their superior theological training, zealous service, and loyalty to the papacy, seemed more eminently fitted to perform the task of inquisitors. In the pontificate of Alexander IV, the Dominicans were assigned control of the organization.

The procedure of the Inquisition varied to some degree from age to age and from place to place. Since the primary purpose of the Inquisition was to save souls, the inquisitors proclaimed a "period of grace," during which the self-confessed could clear themselves by a light penance. After this period, the court proceeded to summon suspects. Every effort was made to secure a full and free confession, for only a voluntary confession was valid before the judges. If an admission was not forthcoming—and in many instances it was not—measures were taken to extract such acknowledgment by fear of death at the stake; by close confinement, often years at a time, and with short rations; by visits of tried heretics, who attempted to secure confession by persuasion; and, finally, as a last resort, the application of torture. Torture was not regarded as a mode of punishment—for the innocence or exact guilt had not been determined—but was purely a means of eliciting truth from those who prevaricated or proved obstinate. A confession secured under such conditions was not acceptable in court; the accused was allowed to retract anything he had said while under torture. A limit was placed on torture, for it was not to cause the letting of blood, the loss of limb, or imperil life. These limitations, as well as the rule that torture was to be applied only once, were often disregarded. Children and those mentally irresponsible were exempt. At the trial, conducted in secret, the defendant was not told the nature of his crime nor the names of his accusers. He was permitted to name his known enemies and if his accusers were in this number, the charge of heresy often was quashed. The defendant had difficulty in securing witnesses and legal counsel, for they, too, might be charged with the same crime. As early as the pontificate of Innocent III, lawyers were forbidden to defend a heretic; in time, however, the severity of this law was relaxed. The accused enjoyed a number of safeguards, including the right of appeal to Rome.

Heresy was not the only crime which came under the cognizance of the Inquisition, for bigamy, blasphemy, sorcery, witchcraft, and some forms of vice were also included. For this reason, the nature of punishment varied greatly. Acquittal was almost unknown.

Punishment took the form of pilgrimages, fasts, prayers, flagellations, crosses sewn to one's apparel, fines, and imprisonments. Repentant first offenders were dismissed with light punishment and the admonition to refrain from future heretical practices. Capital punishment by fire was pronounced on relapsed heretics; convicted heretics who could not be apprehended were burned in effigy. Since the church could not carry out a sentence involving loss of life or shedding of blood, the inquisitors "relaxed" the condemned to the secular authorities for punishment. Due to the lack of complete records, no authoritative number can be given of the number of victims of the Inquisition. "An actual count up to the year 1540, that is, before Protestantism became a serious factor, shows that 20,226 were burned in person and 10,913 in effigy, and these figures are incomplete. . . . Roughly, for one person sentenced to death ten suffered milder penalties." [2]

Central and Western Europe were the chief centers of the Inquisition. Scandinavia was exempt from the inquisitors, while in England, the Inquisition was directed by the archbishops and their suffragans without being responsible to any inquisitor-general. The Spanish and Roman were the most active branches of the institution, with the Spanish the more dreaded and odious of the two. Although the Inquisition had been introduced into Spain in the thirteenth century, the Spanish Inquisition proper began in 1478, in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. Under the fiendish direction of the first Grand Inquisitor, Torquemada, the Spanish tribunal soon gained a reputation which has made it a synonym for cruelty and barbarity. The excesses of the Spanish Inquisition were largely attributable to the fact that it became a state tribunal controlled by the royal power, and in its administration, civil purposes overshadowed the ecclesiastical. It became so powerful that it could ignore with impunity the commands of the pope. This dread institution was at first directed against Jews and Moors who had embraced Christianity, but had relapsed into their former religion. Both races were practically exterminated or driven from Spain; since they constituted

[2] Smith, Preserved, *The Age of the Reformation*, N.Y., 1920; p. 415.

the financial and industrial backbone of the nation, Spain soon drifted into a state of economic eclipse where she has remained to this day. Few Protestants were subjected to the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition, for the simple reason that there were never many Protestants in the country. But the tribunal, however, was a major factor in checking the spread of Protestantism in Spain.

The success of the Spanish Inquisition and the continued infiltration of heresy into Catholic lands prompted Paul III in 1542 to establish the Roman Inquisition. A central board of six cardinals, sitting in Rome, was to be the final court of appeals for trials concerning faith and the court of first instances for cases reserved to the pope. It was the ambition of Paul III and his immediate successors to give the Roman Inquisition a jurisdiction as wide as that of the Catholic Church itself. The institution, however, never exercised any notable activity outside Italy, because in other European countries civil authorities regarded its extension as an infringement of national jurisdiction and notified Rome that they intended to do their own heresy-hunting. In Italy it was very effective in stamping out not only heresy but the remnants of Renaissance humanism as well.

As a natural consequence of the claim of the church to watch over its members and guard them from corruption, individual popes or Catholic universities had issued lists of books believed to be injurious to faith or morality and which the orthodox should eschew. The multiplication of such books after the invention of printing made it evident that a more stringent, as well as a more systematic, procedure had to be initiated to keep heterodox writings out of the hands of the faithful. A list issued by Paul IV, in 1559, was the first that bore the title *Index* and was the first Roman list meant for the whole world. The Council of Trent regarded these earlier attempts as unsatisfactory and appointed a committee to carry out a comprehensive and authoritative enumeration of books deemed unsuitable for orthodox Catholics. This *Tridentine Index* was issued by Pius IV in 1564; further additions have been made from time to time. Prohibited writings were divided into three categories: the first prohibits the writings of heresiarchs, or corrupt individuals,

whose works are condemned *in toto,* no matter what may be the subjects; under the second head are named individual dangerous works; the third, indicates forbidden passages in books otherwise sound. As an additional step to combat the publication of pernicious writings, the Council of Trent provided that books which received the approval of the church should be given a license called the *imprimatur.*

The way for reform of the Roman *curia* had been laid by Adrian VI (1522-1523), but the pontificate of that dour, phlegmatic Dutchman had been too short and unpopular for him to carry out the reforms desired. His successor, Clement VII (1523-1534), was a Medici, whose pontificate was characterized by the corruption for which his family was notorious. The pontificate of Paul III (1534-1549) marks the turning point in the Catholic reaction and the beginning of thoroughgoing reformation of the Roman *curia.* Imbued with a spirit of reform and realizing that the exigencies of the situation made reform imperative, he broke sharply with the traditional policy of the papacy and initiated a program, which, while primarily limited to the upper offices, permeated the church from top to bottom. The dissolute cardinals, who had elected Paul only because he was in ill health and not expected long to survive, were surprised when he set up a commission to make a comprehensive report on reform. Spiritual rather than political interests dominated the papacy; efficient administration was insisted upon and officials were selected for ability, not by favor. Nepotism was abolished. Instead of weakly acquiescing in the Protestant Revolt and allowing it to go its way unchallenged, he organized a definite offensive, and it was during his pontificate that the Council of Trent was opened, new religious orders, such as the Jesuits, were formed, and the Inquisition placed on a more efficient footing. Although Paul's successors lacked his remarkable reforming zeal and nobleness of purpose, the trend in the Catholic Church continued slowly but surely towards reform.

IX

THE AGE OF THE RELIGIOUS WARS

The wars of the period c. 1550-1650 were the inescapable aftermath of the Protestant Revolt and the vigorous counter offensive launched by the Catholic Church. Catholic and Protestant states stood in sharp opposition; bigotry and militancy precluded lasting compromise. Religion became the badge of political faction as well as the instrument of dynastic ambition; problems created by the sequestration of Catholic property, in states that had embraced Protestantism, alone would have assured strife.

In the Netherlands, the religious issue was an integral phase of the quest for independence. As a result of the marriage of Mary of Burgundy, the Netherlands, including Belgium, had been annexed to the great Hapsburg Empire. Hapsburg rule occasioned a revolt of the towns, led by Ghent, but the statesmanship of Charles V (1520-1555) ultimately conciliated the disaffected elements.

Upon the abdication of Charles, Spain and the Netherlands passed to his son, Philip II, while the Austrian and German possessions, went to his brother, Ferdinand. Philip was austere and remorseless, imbued with the conviction that he was the designated agent of Providence to extirpate Protestantism. Unrest flared up in the Netherlands almost immediately upon his accession. The Spanish Inquisition was introduced; its efforts to crush Calvinism were actively promoted by the unpopular Cardinal Granville. Onerous taxation curtailed the prosperity of urban centers like Ghent, Antwerp, and Bruges which had been flourishing industrial centers in the Middle Ages. Mercenaries were quartered on the citizenry, with Protestants forced to assume the major share of the burden. Remonstrances to the Regent, Margaret of Parma, were futile; she was arrogant and frivolous, incapable of understanding the degree to which Spanish policies were producing resentment.

In 1566, a group of Dutch nobles rebelled. The authorities refused to heed the protests of these "beggars" as they derisively termed them. The rebels adopted the epithet as their party name. A number of the leaders of the uprising, including the popular Count Egmont, were sent to the scaffold. They were regarded as martyrs, and their deaths did much to unite all elements in opposition to the hated Spaniards.

Philip decided to suppress the uprising by a campaign of terrorization. In the Duke of Alva, he chose an ideal agent for such a mission; few more fiendishly cruel characters have ever stained the pages of history. An orgy of massacre, pillage, and rapine began with the arrival of Alva and his army. The "Council of Blood" hurried thousands to their deaths with trials that mocked the most elementary considerations of justice.

When William of Orange, in 1568, consented to lead the rebel armies, the Spanish were forced to assume the defensive. All the north provinces adhered to the patriotic cause; most of the southern states were won by economic inducements. After a series of reverses, Alva was recalled (1573), but the new commander, Alexander of Parma, did nothing to mitigate the cruelties of his licentious soldiery. By 1579, the southern states, which were predominantly Catholic, were again under Spanish control, but Alexander's efforts to reconquer the north failed. William of Orange had continually urged the creation of a federation; the Union of Utrecht (1579) was formed in accordance with this policy. The Protestant northern states were organized into a league of independent republics, but dreary years of war were necessary before the independence of the states received international recognition in the Peace of Westphalia (1648).

Queen Elizabeth of England (1558-1603) dallied with projects for intervention in behalf of Dutch independence but confined her efforts to occasional subsidies. The threat of English intervention, however, further strained relations with Spain and contributed to Philip's decision to attack England in 1588. The execution of Mary Queen of Scots, however, was the immediate cause of the

Great Armada. Mary, daughter of James V of Scotland, widow of King Francis II of France, had married Lord Darnley. She became infatuated with the Earl of Bothwell and connived at his murder of her husband. This act completed the breach with the dominant Protestant faction and necessitated her flight to England. Here she served as a nucleus for Catholic malcontents. Her intrigues with Philip brought about her execution (1587).

Philip had dreamed of the re-establishment of papal supremacy in England since his marriage to Mary, Elizabeth's predecessor on the throne. The depredations of Drake and others had made serious inroads on Spanish commerce with the colonies; scores of galleons, laden with treasure, had fallen prey to the buccaneers. A successful invasion of England, therefore, promised the re-establishment of Catholicism, revenge for Elizabeth's meddling in the Netherlands, and the elimination of a serious obstacle to Spanish commerce. A great storm that wrecked or crippled the ships of the Armada was the prelude to the disastrous defeat of the remainder of the Spanish fleet, by Lord Howard. Only a pitiful remnant of the once formidable fleet returned to Cadiz.

France, too, was torn by religious conflict. Francis I (1520-1547) forbade Protestantism and initiated spasmodic persecutions, primarily to secure the support of the established church, so badly needed in view of his Italian ambitions and the consequent struggle with Charles V. Henry II (1547-1559) added fanaticism to expediency; the "Chambers of Fire" were organized to extirpate heresy by the methods of the Inquisition.

The religious issue became critical in the reign of Charles IX, who ruled under the regency of his mother, Catherine de' Medici. Two factions of nobles vied for influence and power; one, under the Catholic Duke of Guise; the other, led by the Protestant, Count Coligny. For a time, Catherine inclined to a policy of toleration, and Huguenots were officially authorized to hold services in designated towns. Conflict began, nevertheless, when the Duke of Guise dispersed a group of Huguenots who were holding a service in conformity with the Edict of Toleration (1562). A

truce, in 1570, assigned a number of towns to the Huguenots, a harbinger of the policy later to be adopted by Henry IV. On St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, however, some 12,000 Huguenots, including Coligny, were massacred in Paris, as a result of a well organized plot apparently instigated by Guise and Catherine. A *Te Deum* was sung at Rome at the receipt of news of the tragedy, and Philip of Spain was reported to have laughed for the first time in his life.

With the death of Charles IX (1574), the religious question was a phase of the War of the Three Henries. Henry III, Henry of Guise, and the Huguenot, Henry of Navarre, contended for the throne. By 1589, Henry of Navarre was the sole candidate; he gradually won recognition, except in Paris where his Protestantism was the basic obstacle. Since "Paris was well worth a mass," he embraced the Catholic Faith in 1593. By the Edict of Nantes (1598), the Huguenots were assigned towns which they were permitted to fortify; liberty of worship was conceded, except in Paris and approximately 200 other specified places. This act, however commendable as a step toward the establishment of tolerance, was subversive to the policy of centralization which the king and his able minister Sully had inaugurated. The autonomy granted to the Huguenot towns weakened the monarchy, and these political privileges wisely were curtailed by Richelieu. The religious provisions remained in force until the revocation of the edict by Louis XIV.

Recurrence of conflict in Germany was made inevitable by the failure of the Treaty of Augsburg (1555) to settle basic issues. Calvinism did not receive toleration by the treaty; and there was no provision to check further attempts to spread Protestantism. The clauses of the treaty which forbade further confiscations of Catholic Church property were evaded. An attack on a procession of monks at Donauwörth was a prelude to the Thirty Years' War. Maximilian of Bavaria took prompt action to avenge the outrage. Protestant states formed a league, under the leadership of Frederick, Elector of the Palatinate of the Rhine; Maximilian countered with the formation of a Catholic League.

The first phase of the war was identified with the cause of Bohemian nationalism. Aspirations for independence were coupled with failure of the Bohemian Protestants to secure concessions which the emperor had promised. A revolt at Prague, during which imperial envoys were tossed from a window of the council chamber, was the signal for declaration of independence. Frederick, the Elector Palatinate, accepted the offer of the crown. His selection was due to the fact that he was the son-in-law of James I of England from whom assistance was anticipated. Aid from England did not materialize, and the emperor, Ferdinand II, aided by Maximilian of Bavaria, easily quelled the uprising. The "Winter King" was deposed and punished by the forfeiture of about half his palatinate.

The second phase of the Thirty Years' War was marked by the intervention of Denmark. Christian IV sought to acquire the ports on the North German Baltic Coast. This motive was far more important than the desire to aid the Protestant cause. For a time, his armies were victorious, but a series of blows, delivered by the brilliant Wallenstein, compelled the Danes to withdraw. The Edict of Restitution (1629) marked the zenith of Catholic success; all property confiscated by Protestants since 1555 was to be restored; Lutherans were to be the only Protestant group to enjoy toleration.

At this critical juncture, the Protestants were rescued by Sweden's entry into the war. Gustavus Adolphus, while a passionate advocate of Lutheranism, had the same territorial and economic objectives as Christian of Denmark. While the Hapsburg forces were under the command of Tilly, the Swedish armies won several victories, but, with the recall of Wallenstein, who had been dismissed for alleged corruption, the tide began to turn. The army of Gustavus won a brilliant victory at Lützen, but the king was slain and his death curtailed Sweden's active participation in the war.

French policy in the last years of the war aptly illustrates the point that religion often was a minor factor. France, a Catholic nation, guided by Cardinal Richelieu, allied with the Protestant states. The doctrine of "natural frontiers" was a basic feature of Richelieu's policies; upheaval in Germany offered prospect of

pushing the eastern boundary of France to the Rhine, with the acquisition of Alsace, Lorraine, and Roussillon. The brilliant generals, Condé and Turenne, gained several decisive victories, and at the close of the war, Alsace and Lorraine were under French control.

The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) was the first of a series of great European settlements. It modified the Augsburg settlement by according Calvinists the toleration hitherto confined to Lutherans. The rulers of each of the German states were to choose which religion was to prevail in the territories under their control. Protestants were to hold all lands acquired before 1624. Pomerania was ceded to Sweden with the proviso that it was to remain nominally a part of the empire. Alsace, Metz, Toul, and Verdun were ceded to France. The independence of Switzerland and the Netherlands was officially recognized.

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN ENGLAND IN THE AGE OF THE RELIGIOUS WARS

By 1400, the English Parliament had acquired the powers essential to constitutional government. Financial control had been successfully asserted; the powers of impeachment, and even deposition of the king, had been exercised. Nevertheless, the development of constitutional monarchy proved premature; the Tudors (1485-1603) inaugurated a vigorous royalist reaction. Tudor absolutism, in large measure, was a natural effect of the Wars of the Roses (1455-1485). The turbulence, incident to the struggle of the Yorkist and Lancastrian factions, bore heavily on the general populace, who had no immediate interest in the outcome. The Tudors, above all, offered stability and order; with memories of the recent excesses of the barons so vivid, it is not surprising that the English people condoned virtual restoration of absolutism. Commerce and industry were expanding; economic interests were well served by the Tudor rulers. England constantly was threatened with dangers from abroad. It was therefore expedient to support a government that offered vigorous defense.

Absolutism, however, again came in conflict with parliamentary principles in the reign of James (1603-1625). The founder of the Stuart line cherished the most exalted conceptions of royal prerogative and the divine right of kings. A number of factors accentuated friction with Parliament. Foreign policy was considered pusillanimous when James failed to intervene in the Thirty Years' War. Negotiations for a Spanish marriage for Prince Charles likewise engendered much dissatisfaction. Dissenters and Catholics were disgruntled at the failure of the king to extend religious concessions. The Separatists found asylum in Holland, subsequently to emigrate to America. Civil disabilities of Catholics were increased as a result of the abortive Gun-Powder Plot (1605).

The fundamental issue, however, was the royal claim that the privileges and immunities of Parliament were granted by him on his own volition, whereas Parliament asserted these privileges as inalienable rights. Impositions of customs without parliamentary consent were bitterly opposed, as were also the king's attempts to curtail the powers of the courts.

The controversy attained full virulence in the reign of Charles I (1625-1649). The new king, although possessing undeniable gifts of intellect and manner, was stubborn and oblivious to the temper of the times. His first Parliament was summarily dismissed when Commons impugned the conduct of Buckingham and other royal ministers. Forced by financial needs in 1628 to convoke another Parliament, the king found the opposition strengthened by the scandals of the Cadiz Expedition. When the impeachment of Buckingham was demanded as a *sine qua non* of monetary grants, Charles again dismissed Parliament, but his failure to secure funds forced him to resort to arbitrary expedients that greatly increased the opposition. In 1628, Parliament drew up the Petition of Rights. The document asserted the principle that loans, gifts, or taxes could not legally be imposed without consent of Parliament. Imprisonment without due process of law was condemned as an aftermath of the "Five Knights Case," wherein five knights had been imprisoned for refusal to contribute to a levy imposed by the king.

Charles claimed that the failure of Parliament to vote subsidies automatically authorized him to collect tonnage and poundage as a royal prerogative; distraints and imprisonments were necessary to enforce collections. The religious issue again came to the fore with a "Declaration" by the king that allocated religious questions to the jurisdiction of Convocation, made up largely of his appointees. When the Parliament of 1629 passed the Elliot Resolutions, which denied the royal right to impose tonnage and poundage, it was forcibly dismissed, not to be reassembled until 1640.

In the period of personal government (1629-1640), practically every phase of royal policy earned widespread condemnation. Archbishop Laud's attempt to establish conformity to Anglican usages greatly aroused the Puritans and other dissenting groups; it was widely believed that High Church doctrines were the prelude to re-establishment of Catholicism. A number of unpopular expedients were used to raise funds. Grants of monoply were sold, with the accompaniment of widespread complaints engendered by the resultant price increases. Ship-money, coat and conduct money, and other exactions were imposed; and in the Hampden Case, the courts upheld these taxes on the ground that they were levied as emergency measures, ostensibly for the defense of the realm.

The attempts of Charles and Laud to establish ecclesiastical uniformity in Scotland paved the way for the Puritan Revolution. The Scotch countered by drawing up the "National Covenant" (1638) wherein they pledged themselves to uphold the crown and the Presbyterian religion. Futile negotiations led to the rather ridiculous First Bishops' War (1639). Upon the advice of the Earl of Strafford, Charles convoked Parliament in April of 1640, to procure funds for renewal of the war with the Scots. John Pym led the opposition. In a brilliant speech he arraigned the king for his interference with parliamentary privilege, violations of property rights, and attempts to introduce new religious practices. When the king saw that no monetary grants would be made without concessions which he was unwilling to extend, he dissolved the "Short Parliament." Renewal of the Scottish War brought matters to a

crisis. Parliament again was summoned, and the "Long Parliament" began its session in November, 1640. Laud and Strafford were impeached, and the courts of High Commission and Star Chamber were abolished. A Triennial Act made mandatory convocations of Parliament at least every three years, and the principle of financial control was reaffirmed. Rebellion in Ireland (1641) strengthened reform demands, and the Grand Remonstrance, which epitomized the struggles of recent years, was presented to the king. Encouraged by evidences of personal popularity and the split in Parliamentary ranks, caused by the religious provisions of the Remonstrance, Charles attempted to arrest five parliamentary leaders. Amid great excitement, he withdrew from London, subsequently to begin the war at Nottingham (1642).

The royalists were decisively defeated at Marston Moor (1644); the revamped rebel army crushed them again at Naseby (1645). Charles profited by the dissensions of the parliamentarians to intrigue for Irish and Scottish assistance. "Pride's Purge" of 1648, however, left Cromwell and the Puritans in undisputed control of Parliament. A High Court was constituted, and by act of the "Rump Parliament" Charles was condemned for treason and executed (January 30, 1649).

In March, the "Rump" abolished the House of Lords and declared kingship a superfluous instrument of government. A Council of State was created to administer the newly established Commonwealth. The new government was in reality a religious and military oligarchy. Cromwell led an army to Ireland, where royalist opposition was crushed by the infamous Drogheda massacre and the Settlement of 1652 which outlawed Catholicism. In 1651, a Scottish uprising was quelled at Worcester and Charles II fled to France. Dissension in the "Rump" continued, and in 1653, Cromwell dissolved the body and convoked the "Barebones Parliament," made up of his carefully selected partisans. An Instrument of Government was enacted, the only written constitution England ever had. Cromwell was named Lord Protector (1653-1658) and subsequently enjoyed virtually unlimited powers. He enacted a church settlement sufficiently elastic to include all save Catholics and Episcopalians. The Dutch Wars

were ended and a powerful blow struck against Spanish commercial interests in the New World, but the project for a union of Protestant States did not materialize.

After two years of vacillation and dissension under Richard Cromwell (1658-1660) England was more than ready for a Stuart Restoration. Charles II returned, under the terms of the Declaration of Breda, which a subsequent Convention carried into effect. From 1660 to 1667, royal policies were largely framed by the Earl of Clarendon who sponsored a series of reactionary laws. Dissenters were barred from public office, while the Corporation Act imposed similar restrictions on the tenure of municipal offices. An Act of Uniformity required all clergymen to use the revised Book of Common Prayer or resign their benefices. The Conventicle Act prohibited religious services by five or more dissenters, and the Five Mile Act forbade nonconformist clergy or teachers to come within five miles of a corporate town unless they took an oath not to bear arms or attempt forcible overthrow of the government.

After Clarendon's fall, Charles showed increasing tendencies toward absolutism, abetted by a small group of intimate admirers, known as the Cabal. In 1670, he concluded the Secret Treaty of Dover with Louis XIV, conniving at the French invasion of the Netherlands and promising efforts to restore Catholicism. A Declaration of Indulgence extended a large measure of toleration to Catholics; Parliamentary opposition was aroused, resulting in the passage of the Test Act (1673) which again tightened the restrictions; and when the rascally Titus Oates charged that Catholic plotters were preparing a *coup,* anti-Catholic legislation increased in severity. An improved Habeas Corpus Act in 1679, however, was a constructive measure amid the mass of reactionary laws.

James II, brother of Charles (1685-1688), pushed reaction too far. After the Monmouth rebellion was crushed, Kirke's "Lambs" and Jeffrey's "Bloody Assize" took terrible toll, but it was the king's attempts to revive Catholicism and his intrigues for foreign assistance for this project that precipitated the Glorious Revolution. Mary and William of Orange were called to the throne by Parliament. The

Declaration of Rights embodied the basic principles of constitutional monarchy. No money was to be raised without parliamentary consent. The crown was forbidden to suspend the laws. No armies were to be levied without parliamentary approval. Arbitrary arrests and interference with freedom of speech, debate, and elections likewise were forbidden. An Act of Settlement regulated succession to the throne. By 1689, England was irrevocably committed to constitutional government.

DEVELOPMENT OF ABSOLUTISM IN FRANCE

Development of parliamentary institutions in France, in the later Middle Ages, promised to keep pace with similar movements in England. The Estates-General ultimately failed, however, to secure powers comparable to those exercised by the English Parliament: it met for the last time in 1614. In the meantime, the power of the monarchy was growing, until it reached its culmination in the reign of Louis XIV (1643-1715).

The monarchy began to recuperate from the disastrous effects of the Hundred Years' War in the reign of Charles VII (1436-1461). A standing army was organized and taxation put on a systematic basis with the levy of the *taille* (land tax), *gabelle* (tax on salt) and a number of excises. Ecclesiastical influence was curbed by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438), which, in effect, established a national church. The nobles were reduced to a semblance of obedience. The rejuvenated government energetically resumed the war with England, and at the close of the Hundred Years' War, Calais was the only English possession on French soil.

Centralization continued in the reign of Louis XI (1461-1483). A faction of nobles, known as the "Princes of the Lilies," was reduced to impotence by adroit negotiations and intrigues. The great struggle with Charles the Bold engendered fervent nationalism; when Charles was defeated by the Swiss, the once powerful duchy was annexed to France. Arrangements were made for the marriage of Anne of Brittany to Charles VIII; when the agreement was carried

out, Brittany was annexed by the monarchy and territorial unification was virtually complete.

The gains made by the constructive policies of these rulers largely were dissipated by the Italian policy of Charles VIII, and his successors. Francis I was drawn into a disastrous struggle with the Emperor, Charles V, fundamentally because of Italian ambitions which centered around claims to the Kingdom of Naples. Religious turmoil hastened the prostration of the monarchy; the War of the Three Henries led to veritable chaos.

Recovery began with the accession of Henry IV (1589-1610). The Edict of Nantes allayed religious conflict; tangible inducements procured the co-operation of many of the nobles. The king's able minister, Sully, restored financial stability. Agriculture was aided by subsidies and the construction of roads and canals was begun to enlarge market facilities. Protective tariffs and other aids stimulated the manufacture of silk, china, glass, and other articles of luxury. Increased prosperity augmented governmental revenues, while wasteful expenditures were eliminated by Sully's vigilance. With the assassination of Henry by a madman (1610), the throne passed to the young Louis XIII (1610-1643), under the regency of Marie de' Medici. Marie's incompetence and weakness gave opportunity for the nobles again to assert independence from royal control, but disruptive tendencies were definitely curbed when Cardinal Richelieu became the chief minister of the king (1624). The cardinal's devotion to the advancement of the monarchy was tantamount to unsparing consecration of energies, talents, and personal ambitions to the attainment of objectives which he considered of paramount significance. He inspired the same implacable resolution in his subordinates. Offices were filled with men in whom the cardinal reposed confidence, until a bureaucracy was created, held together by common loyalty. When religious strife again flared up, Richelieu, by the Treaty of Grace (1629), required the Huguenots to dismantle their fortresses and surrender many of their political privileges, although he did not curtail freedom of worship. So firmly was royal authority established, that the nobles were forbidden to engage in duels. They

also were forced to dismantle their castles, unless they were located near the frontiers and were thus in a position to be of service to the nation. A number of prominent nobles were executed for defiance of these laws. Local administrative functions were entrusted to appointed *Intendants* (1637) chosen almost invariably from the Third Estate.

Richelieu and the king, who had consistently upheld him, died in the same year (1642); Anne of Austria became regent for the young Louis XIV. Anne selected Mazarin as her chief minister, and when he attempted to continue the strong policies of Richelieu, the *bourgeoisie* collaborated with the nobles in an abortive uprising, termed in derision, the *Fronde*. Mazarin pushed French policy in the Thirty Years' War to success; the Treaty of Westphalia awarded the territories on the eastern frontier which Richelieu had hoped to secure when he intervened in the war. In 1659, the Peace of the Pyrenees was signed with Spain.

The work of Henry IV, Richelieu, and Mazarin prepared the way for the culmination of autocracy under Louis XIV. The Grand Monarch's theories of government were accurately stated in his famous aphorism, "I am the State." All powers, executive, legislative, and judicial, were concentrated in his person. Thousands of nobles accentuated the brilliance of his court at Versailles, and nobles with centuries of aristocratic traditions behind them vied for the right to perform menial services. Moliére, Racine and other members of the Literary Academy, established by Richelieu, enhanced the intellectual brilliance of the reign. The Gobelins produced their beautiful tapestries, and artists devoted their talents to the creation of masterpieces to embellish the gorgeous splendor of the Versailles Palace.

The king's Council, made up of his appointees, advised and assisted in affairs of state. For more efficient work, the Council was divided into smaller groups to each of which were assigned specific duties. The Council of State, presided over by the king in person, discussed foreign policy and major domestic issues; the Council of Dispatches regulated provincial matters, while questions of finance also were

relegated to a Council. Judicial business came under the jurisdiction of the Privy Council. All acts had to be legalized by the imposition of the Great Seal, in the custody of the chancellor. Laws, after validation, were inscribed in the registers of the *Parlement* of Paris, which also served as a High Court of Appeal.

Economic policies were largely framed by Colbert, a confirmed believer in the mercantilist doctrines. Industrial gilds were regulated, primarily to eliminate waste and enhance output of the commodities which France was best able to produce and market. Colonial ventures in North America were promoted. Commerce was stimulated by the abolition of many internal customs and tolls. Systematic accounting curbed waste and corruption in all financial activities of the government.

Religious persecution was revived with the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). Huguenots were subjected to political and social discriminations. Contingents of troops (Dragonades) were quartered in Protestant households and committed many deeds of violence. Thousands of Huguenots emigrated under the stress of persecution. They were drawn, for the most part, from the ranks of industrious, capable artisans. Their departure was a distinct economic loss to France.

The foreign policy of Louis XIV was a fundamental cause for the ultimate collapse of the Bourbon monarchy. French aggressions strengthened the adherence of other nations to the principle of "balance of power;" every hostile move of France promptly was countered by the formation of a coalition that frustrated the designs of the Grand Monarch. In 1667, Louis laid claim to the Spanish Netherlands on the ground that they had "devolved" to him through the rights of his wife. A Triple Alliance of Holland, Sweden, and England opposed him; in the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668), he renounced his claims, but received Franche Comté as compensation. Another war of aggression against the Dutch likewise was fruitless; the Peace of Nymwegen (1678) deprived him of the frontier towns he received by the War of Devolution. Attempts to seize territory in the Rhinelands by the pseudo-legal proceedings of the Chambers

of Reunion, precipitated a war with the Empire, which was ended by the Treaty of Ryswick. Again, French aggression was fruitless.

In 1701, at the death of Charles II of Spain, Louis claimed the Spanish throne for his grandson. Since success of this plan would have destroyed the balance of power, England, Holland, Sweden, and the Empire formed the Grand Alliance against France. After a bitter struggle in Europe and America, the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) was signed, permitting Philip Bourbon to assume the Spanish throne on condition that the crowns of Spain and France would not be united. France was deprived of Nova Scotia and her Hudson Bay holdings; Spain ceded Gibraltar to England. Two years later, Louis' reign of seventy-two years came to a close. France was irreparably weakened by the disastrous series of wars.

BOOK THREE

THE AGE OF DYNASTIC AND COLONIAL RIVALRIES

X

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE

The period of exploration merged imperceptibly into the age of colonization. Spain and Portugal had profited from the first wave of geographical discovery; the decline of these countries enabled other European nations to challenge their commercial and colonial supremacy.

Many motives inspired the colonizing movement, which enjoyed its greatest success in the New World during the seventeenth century. The chief motive was economic—the desire for profit. Whereas the Spanish and French were primarily interested in the more immediate profits of precious metals and furs, the English came for the ultimate profits to be derived from agriculture, lumbering, and fishing. Under the prevailing theory of mercantilism, colonies were considered economic necessities, for they provided new sources of raw materials and new markets for manufactured goods. Extensive or lucrative colonies were also a source of national pride. The religious motive proved to be one of the most powerful factors in colonization. Spanish and French missionaries, particularly the Jesuits, penetrated into the new regions, preaching and baptizing as they went. Close behind came trappers, traders, and permanent colonizers. Another aspect of the religious motive was the founding of colonies as a refuge for victims of persecution after the Protestant Revolt, particularly during the seventeenth century. The eastern seaboard of North America became the haven of religious refugees, who desired freedom of worship for themselves, but who were as intolerant of dissenting religious beliefs as had been their persecutors in Europe. The Separatists (Pilgrims) settled Plymouth; the Puritans, Massachusetts Bay; the Catholics, under Lord Baltimore, colonized Maryland; the Huguenots, driven from France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV (1685), settled along the Atlantic seaboard,

particularly in the Carolinas; the Quakers led by William Penn founded Pennsylvania; the Moravians also settled in Pennsylvania.

With the shifting of the trade routes, and the consequent decline of the Hansa and the Italian commercial cities, national superseded municipal commerce. The home government did not itself engage in trade, but merely chartered companies for that purpose. Towards the end of the sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth century, the most popular method for the development of colonial trade was the joint-stock company. A charter was secured from the government, granting a monopoly of trade in a stipulated area in return for a share of the proceeds. In the territory comprised in the grant, the company was virtually a sovereign state. For example, the English East India Company (1600) conducted the conquest and government of India, until relieved of its administrative powers by the English crown in 1858. Under the charter of the joint-stock company, the home government protected the recipients of charters from domestic competition and from the aggression of foreign powers. England, the Netherlands, France, Scotland, and other North European countries chartered "East India Companies"; the profitable West Indian trade was tapped by similar organizations. The English possessions on the Atlantic seaboard were shared by the London and Plymouth Companies, chartered in 1606. The former company colonized Virginia and founded Jamestown (1607), the first permanent English settlement in America. Conflicting commercial areas were a fertile cause of eighteenth century wars. Spain was forced to fight a number of such wars as a consequence of her extensive colonial possessions and her policy of restricting or prohibiting competitive trade. The long series of wars between France and England, from the War of the Spanish Succession to the American Revolution inclusive, were fundamentally caused by colonial and commercial rivalry.

Spurred by the voyages of Columbus, the Portuguese redoubled their efforts to discover an all-water route from Europe to the orient. Their efforts were crowned by the successful voyage of Vasco da Gama. Large expeditions under Cabral in 1500 and Albuquerque

in 1503 followed the route of Da Gama, and, thereafter, annual fleets sailed from Lisbon to the East Indies. D'Almeida, the first Portuguese viceroy of India, and his successor, Albuquerque, adopted a vigorous policy which succeeded in wresting from the Arabs the command of the sea in the east and the control of the spice trade. The Portuguese combined the character and activities of merchants and missionaries in their treatment of the natives; adopting a policy of repression, they made little distinction between their potential allies, the Hindus, and their bitter enemies, the Mohammedans.

The area of Portuguese control was widely extended by the seizure of Goa in 1510 and the colonization or fortification of other seaports and islands. Since the chief source of spices was not India but the neighboring islands, the traders made few settlements on the mainland, devoting their energies to the exploitation of Ceylon, Malacca, the Spice Islands (Moluccas), Sumatra, Java, and Celebes. The Portuguese sought commercial advantage, not permanent settlement; a scattered line of maritime possessions, constituting "stepping stones" to the east, were acquired along the coasts of West and East Africa, Persia, the Malay Archipelago, and Indo-China. China was opened to trade, and, in 1557, the Portuguese acquired Macao, today the oldest European trading settlement in China. In the latter half of the sixteenth century, Japan attracted a large number of traders and missionaries.

An episode in the spice trade was the founding of the Portuguese colony of Brazil. On Cabral's voyage to India in 1500, he took a course westward of Da Gama's route and accidentally touched the coast of Brazil. Pinzon, a Spanish navigator, had reached this land just prior to the voyage of Cabral; but as the territory was well within the zone assigned Portugal by the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), Cabral accordingly took possession in the name of his king, calling the country the "Island of the True Cross." Following so closely upon the discoveries of Da Gama, news of Cabral's discovery aroused great enthusiasm in Portugal. Brazil abounded in valuable dyewoods—from which it received its present name—and, although

neglected by the Portuguese, proved to be a valuable colony until it won its independence in 1822.

The great Portuguese empire, stretching from China on the east to Brazil on the west, was regarded with envy by the less fortunate countries of Europe. Lisbon had become a great commercial emporium, through which the spice trade flowed to other countries. The Dutch, however, were the chief commercial distributors of spices throughout Europe. The annexation of Portugal to Spain by Philip II (1580) had a disastrous effect upon Portuguese control of the eastern trade. When Philip closed the port of Lisbon to Dutch traders, the latter refused to see their commerce decline and sent ships to the Indies to secure the spices denied them at Lisbon. Portugal was in a state of economic decay and lacked the population and resources to maintain its empire. This condition was accentuated by Philip's unwise economic policies, for he was far more interested in his American possessions and the humiliation of England than in trade with the Indies. With only feeble protection from the mother country, Portuguese traders proved to be no match for the enterprising Dutch, who soon broke the Portuguese monopoly and Lisbon was superseded by such Dutch cities as Bruges, Antwerp, and Amsterdam, as the center of the eastern trade. When Portugal regained her independence in 1640, she had lost not only her commerce but most of her eastern colonies as well. Today, such scattered outposts as Goa, Diu, Macao, and Timor are the remnants of her former flourishing empire in the Far East.

The Dutch were the first rivals of the commercial monopoly of Spain and Portugal. Within a few years after Philip II closed Lisbon to the Dutch, the aggressive Netherlanders drove the Portuguese from nearly all of their East Indian possessions and secured Sumatra, Ceylon, Malacca, Java, Celebes, and the Spice Islands (Moluccas). A half-way station was established by the Dutch at Cape Town, which was regarded as the "frontier fortress of India." This little colony expanded into the interior of the continent until, in time, it came to embrace a great part of Southern Africa. Cape Colony was lost to the English at the close of the Napoleonic Wars; disgruntled Dutch

farmers (Boers) trekked northward and founded states, all of which had come under British rule by the opening years of the twentieth century. Incident to the spice trade, such Dutch navigators as Abel Tasman made voyages of discovery in the waters of Australia and New Zealand, in the first half of the seventeenth century; since no effort was made to retain this land, it was eventually settled and annexed by the British.

Dutch colonization in North America dated from the discovery of the Hudson River in 1609 by Henry Hudson, an Englishman in the service of the Dutch East India Company, who sought a northwest passage to the Indies. The Hudson Valley was rich in furs; within a few years, a considerable trade was built up with the Indians. A fort built on Manhattan Island was the nucleus of the flourishing port of New Amsterdam. Until the chartering of the Dutch West India Company in 1621, New Netherland was a colony of traders, but, under the direction of the company, a system of colonization was inaugurated.

New Netherland was limited on the north by New France, on the east by New England, and on the south by New Sweden. The latter colony, located on Delaware Bay, was on land claimed by the Dutch. After the end of the Thirty Years' War, in which Sweden, the Netherlands, and England had been allies, the Dutch proceeded against New Sweden and in 1655 brought it under their rule. In turn, the English laid claims to the region of New Netherland on the basis of the voyages of John Cabot. England wished to seize the Dutch colony because New Netherland constituted a wedge between her seaboard possessions and she coveted the lucrative fur trade. The Dutch aided English colonists to evade the unpopular Navigation Acts, and were most dangerous maritime rivals. By the middle of the seventeenth century, Holland was the greatest commercial nation in the world and had gained control of the carrying trade, not only of Europe, but between European nations and their colonies. This was contrary to the principles of mercantilism; in order to end it, the British Parliament, under the direction of Oliver Cromwell, passed the Navigation Act of 1651 which permitted only English

vessels to bring goods to England, unless the goods came in vessels belonging to the country which had produced them. This and succeeding acts struck a serious blow at Dutch navigation and led to a commercial war between England and Holland—the first of the commercial struggles which were to supersede the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. At the close of hostilities, the advantage remained with the English. War broke out again during the reign of Charles II (1660-1685), who desired to increase English commerce and found new colonies. The disputed territory around the Hudson was granted by the king to his brother James, Duke of York; a fleet was dispatched to America and New Amsterdam surrendered when the populace refused to fight (1664), much to the choleric disgust of the Dutch governor, Peter Stuyvesant. The colony of New Netherland and the city of New Amsterdam were renamed New York in honor of the Duke of York. While the conquest of New York meant the end of Dutch colonization on the mainland of North America, the Dutch acquired several rich sugar islands in the West Indies and established a colony in Guiana in South America. During the seventeenth century Holland gained a foothold in Brazil, but was finally driven out by the rightful owners, the Portuguese.

The voyages of Columbus were the foundations of the Spanish colonial empire in America. No other colonizing nation in the New World accomplished so much in so short a time; within fifty years after Columbus's first voyage, Spain had explored and established numerous settlements in one of the greatest colonial empires of all times. The first stage of exploration was characterized by the exploration of the coasts and the colonization of the principal islands of the West Indies; in the second stage, efforts were directed to the interior of the mainland and proved to be more profitable.

The restless spirit of the Spanish explorers is well exemplified in the career of Balboa, a bankrupt Santo Domingo planter, who fled the island to escape a debtor's prison. He became a stowaway on a vessel carrying an expedition to the neighborhood of Panama. The leader of the expedition, a Spanish lawyer, proved to be incompetent

and was sent back home, carrying a letter from Balboa to the king of Spain requesting that no more lawyers be allowed to come to the West Indies, for none had ever come there "who was not a devil and who led the life of a devil." Balboa soon became the leader of the expedition and, while seeking for gold, heard of another sea not far away. Pushing through the trackless jungle of the Isthmus of Panama, he finally saw from the mountain heights the waters of the Pacific (1513). He named the body the "South Sea" and, recognizing the significance of his discovery, claimed possession in the name of his sovereign, the king of Spain. The crowning event of the age of discovery was the circumnavigation of the globe by Magellan.

In 1513, Ponce de Leon, a Spanish adventurer, discovered and named Florida, while searching for gold and a rumored fountain of perpetual youth. Although he failed to find the things for which he came, his explorations of the peninsula added greatly to the geographical knowledge of the time. His fruitless expedition did not prevent another Spaniard, Narvaez, from leading an expedition into Florida. The expedition was lured from Tampa Bay into the interior by false reports of a large Indian town and immense wealth. Disappointed, and faced with the attacks of hostile natives, the starving expedition was forced back to the coast, where they built boats, killed their horses for food, made sails from horsehides and clothing, and sailed to join their supply fleet. Unable to find these vessels, the ill-fated expedition beat westward along the Gulf Coast, until the last survivors were wrecked on the coast of Texas. After several years of captivity among the Indians, Cabeza de Vaca, historian of the expedition, and four companions escaped and reached Mexico, bringing with them the usual rumors of immense treasure.

De Vaca's glowing accounts seemed to confirm the reported existence of the "Seven Cities of Cibola" with their fabulous wealth. Fra Marcos, a Franciscan friar, was sent to investigate and returned with such colorful stories of riches that in 1540 Francisco de Coronado set out to conquer the region. He found that the cities were nothing but poor Indian pueblos. The expedition pushed across the plains

as far eastward as the present state of Kansas, but failing to find treasure, returned to Mexico (1542).

Another victim of exaggerated reports of riches in the interior was Hernando de Soto, who had served under Pizarro in Peru. Anxious to gain fame and fortune in Florida, he set out in 1539, at the head of an expedition which he personally financed. From Tampa Bay, he marched through hostile Indian country. For two years, he wandered through the southeastern part of the United States, probably going as far northward as North Carolina and then turning southward through Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. He discovered the Mississippi River in 1541, and, after unsuccessful exploration in the region of Arkansas, returned broken-hearted to the Mississippi, where he died in 1541.

The Spanish dream of El Dorado seemed to have come true as persistent rumors reached Cuba of the great wealth of the Aztecs in Mexico. The Aztecs were the most civilized of North American aborigines; they cultivated the soil, lived in pueblos, or towns, and had developed great skill in the working of gold and silver. It was this vast store of precious metal which inspired Hernando Cortez in 1519 to lead an expedition to Mexico. The warlike Aztecs, who were so feared by their weaker Indian neighbors, proved to be no match for the small but well-armed Spanish force. After more than two years of fighting, Cortez was master of Mexico and proceeded to exploit its immense wealth. Scarcely had this object been accomplished, than another Spaniard, Pizarro, led an expedition to Peru (1531) and conquered the Incas, an Indian nation even more civilized but less warlike than the Aztecs. The Spaniards gave full vent to their heartless cruelty in subjugating the natives; their emperor was burned at the stake on the preposterous charges of heresy and treason to Charles V. From Peru, Pizarro poured into the coffers of Spain one of the greatest treasures in all history.

The foundations of the French colonial empire in America were laid early in the sixteenth century. In 1524, Giovanni de Verranzo, an Italian in the employ of France, explored the eastern coast of North America, claiming possession in the name of the king of

France. Jacques Cartier came to America in 1534, seeking a northwest passage to the Indies, but did little more than explore parts of the coast of Canada before returning to Europe. In the following year, he explored the St. Lawrence Valley, stopping at the present sites of Quebec and Montreal. An attempted settlement in 1541 proved unsuccessful. In the second half of the century, colonization was resumed under the auspices of Gaspar de Coligny, a great Protestant leader, who wished to found a colony in America as a refuge for his co-religionists. Port Royal, in present South Carolina, founded by Ribault in 1562, proved to be unsuccessful; Fort Caroline, near present St. Augustine, Florida, founded by Laudonnière (1564), was destroyed by the Spaniards four years later.

Despite fruitless attempts at settlement, the French developed a profitable trade, particularly in Canada. Interest in colonization was revived after the close of the religious wars in France; through the efforts of Henry IV's great minister, Sully, colonization and commerce were stimulated, and mercantile companies formed. The beginnings of successful colonization date from this period. Port Royal (Annapolis), Nova Scotia, was founded in 1604; in 1608, Champlain founded Quebec as the key to the St. Lawrence Basin and its fur trade. At first, French colonization in America was limited to this region known as New France. Unfortunately for French colonial enterprise, Champlain incurred the hostility of the powerful Iroquois Confederation which checked expansion into the region along the eastern and southern shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie. New France grew slowly; it consisted of a series of trading posts, in contrast with the compact settlements of the English. Through the pioneer efforts of the Jesuits, the wilderness was penetrated, missions established, and the way opened for the trader and trapper. The reports of Jesuit activities, known as the *Relations,* stimulated contemporary interest in Canada and have provided historians with an invaluable source of knowledge of the time.

French explorers pressed westward in the hope of reaching the Pacific, which was believed to be not far beyond the Great Lakes. Rumors of a great river to the west aroused French interest as a

possible outlet to the Pacific. In 1673, Marquette, a Jesuit missionary, and Joliet, a trader, explored the upper Mississippi and after drifting down the river to the Arkansas, they returned to New France, convinced that the Mississippi flowed into the Gulf of Mexico and not into the Pacific. Their work was completed in 1682 by La Salle, the most intrepid of French explorers, who followed the Mississippi to its mouth, and claimed its basin for the king of France. After an unsuccessful attempt to establish a colony on the coast, further exploration and colonization of this region, known as Louisiana, became the work of Iberville and his brother, Bienville. Settlements were made at Biloxi (1699), Mobile (1702), New Orleans (1718), and strategic points in the interior.

In the meantime, the French had penetrated into Guiana in South America and the West Indies, including such islands as St. Christopher, Guadeloupe, and Martinique. Through the persistent efforts of Colbert, the paternalistic home government employed every means at its disposal to further the advancement of the West Indian colonies. Under the mercantilistic theory, such islands were the best of colonies, for their staple crops of sugar and coffee did not compete with the products of the mother country, but supplied commodities which otherwise would have to be imported from a rival country. Furthermore, these agricultural colonies provided a ready market for the manufactured goods of the mother country. Thus, at the close of the Seven Years' War, the tiny sugar island of Guadeloupe was considered a prize equal in value to Canada; it was only after some hesitation that the English decided to take the latter as spoils of war.

Although the voyages of the Cabots were the basis of later English colonial claims in America, no attempt to strengthen these claims by actual settlement was made until the second half of the sixteenth century. During the Tudor period, England was too engrossed in domestic problems and continental affairs to give much attention to colonization. England as yet was neither an industrial nor a commercial power; she lacked fluid capital, and, as an international power, was inferior to Spain and France. Under Elizabeth, however,

England experienced fundamental internal changes and secured enhanced international prestige.

For a hundred years after Cabot's voyage, the chief activities of the English in America were the search for a northwest passage to the Indies and the plundering of Spanish commerce. While hunting for the northwest passage, Frobisher (1576-1578), Davis (1585-1587), Hudson (1610-1611), and Baffin (1616) explored the Arctic regions and helped to establish English claims to Northern Canada. With legal trade with the Spanish colonies closed to them, such hardy English "sea dogs" as Francis Drake and John Hawkins received tacit permission of Elizabeth to prey upon Spanish commerce and treasure ships in time of peace. Thus, an irregular English navy was developed with which the formidable Armada was defeated in 1588, and England supplanted Spain as the world's foremost naval power. With the consent of Elizabeth, in 1577, Drake raided the Spanish Main; to escape a hostile Spanish squadron which would have prevented his return across the Atlantic, he sailed around Cape Horn into the Pacific and captured Spanish treasure ships on the way from Peru to Panama. He explored the western coast of North America, which he named New Albion and claimed for England. He returned home in 1580 via the East Indies and the Cape of Good Hope.

Even before Hispanic power was checked by the defeat of the Armada, England embarked upon a program of colonization outside the territory claimed by Spain. An attempt to found a colony on Newfoundland by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, proved to be unsuccessful; a settlement on Roanoke Island, off the coast of what is now North Carolina, met a similar fate. Under the auspices of Sir Walter Raleigh, another expedition was sent out, in 1587, under the leadership of Richard Lane. The outbreak of hostilities with Spain prevented the despatch of supplies and aid to the settlement until 1590, when a relief expedition found the colony abandoned; no trace has ever been found of the settlers.

Despite inauspicious beginnings, English enterprise did not lag. In 1607, the London Company founded Jamestown. The next colonies

were founded in New England: Plymouth (1620), New Hampshire (1623), and Connecticut (1635). Maryland was colonized in 1634 by Lord Baltimore, primarily as a refuge for English Roman Catholics; Puritan religious intolerance led to the founding of Rhode Island (1636) by Roger Williams. A decided interval now appears in the chronology of English settlement in America, caused by the internal strife in England consequent upon the struggle between king and Parliament. With the accession of Charles II, in 1660, English interest in colonization was resumed with the chartering of Carolina (1663), which later was divided into the colonies of North and South Carolina. The gap between New England and the Southern colonies was closed by the acquisition or settlement of the Middle colonies; New York and New Jersey in 1664; Delaware and Pennsylvania in 1681. Plymouth was annexed to Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1691. The English colonies along the Atlantic seaboard were rounded out by the founding of Georgia (1733), the last of the Thirteen Original Colonies, by Oglethorpe.

The early history of India is wrapped in legend, for the native mind is essentially an unhistoric one. So far as the history can be reconstructed at all, material for it is furnished by traditions and folklore drawn ultimately from primitive theology. Such records are so interwoven with myth and fancy that they provide little valid information. The epic *Mahabharata,* the *Rig-Veda* and other collections of hymns and folk-songs, and the commentaries on the Vedic hymns (*Upanishads*), constitute the holy scriptures of the Hindus and our chief source of knowledge of Ancient India. These voluminous religious works trace the invasion and subsequent history of the Aryans as they moved down from the north into India. The date of this invasion is very indefinite, but was probably around 2000 B.C. These northern invaders were akin to most of the Europeans and were the ancestors of the modern Hindus. Gradually forcing their way east and south, the Aryans subdued or expelled the dark-skinned aborigines, the Dravidians.

Early Aryan civilization was simple and pastoral in character. In time, the social, economic, and political institutions became more

complex; centuries before the Christian era, it is possible to perceive the nuclei of trends and developments which have kept India divided and subjugated. India was divided into numerous independent states, monarchies, and tribal republics which made the country a prey to invaders. While most of the early inhabitants were of the Hindu faith, another great religion was developed during this period by Gautama, the Buddha (the "Enlightened"), of whom very little is known; even the reputed date of his death (483 B.C.) is uncertain. At the same time the social structure of the Hindus was experiencing a steady evolution out of which the caste system has evolved. While the early Aryan civilization seems to have been free from caste, the roots of the institution are discernible for centuries before Christ. The number of castes and subcastes has increased until today they are numbered by the hundreds, derived from the four basic castes of the Brahmans, the highest or priestly caste; the Kshatriyas, the nobles; the Vaishyas, the cultivators of the soil; and the Shudras, the serfs, who are the remnants of the aboriginal tribes.

The Aryans developed a Hindu culture, which became more or less common throughout India and which reached its golden age about A.D. 500. A diverse population prevented political centralization and engendered petty civil wars which contributed to the downfall of Hindu and the inception of Mohammedan rule (c. A.D. 1000). After the beginning of Mohammedan infiltration, the history of India was characterized by successive invasions of Turks, Persians, Afghans, and Mongols, culminating, in 1526, with the establishment of the Mogul dynasty by Baber, a descendant of the famous Tartar leader, Tamerlane. The real founder of the Mogul empire in India was Akbar the Great, whose reign (1556-1605) synchronizes with that of Queen Elizabeth of England. He greatly extended the original narrow bounds of his empire and strove to promote religious harmony among the rival religious groups, particularly the Hindus and Mohammedans. The reign of his son and successor, Jahangir (1605-1627), saw the beginnings of the power of the English East India Company. Under Shah Jehan, the Mogul empire attained its greatest magnificence; he founded the city of Delhi, erected the famous

"peacock throne," and built the Taj Mahal, which is considered the most splendid monument of oriental architecture. The long reign of Aurungzeb (1658-1707) represents the culmination of Mogul power and the greatest territorial extent of the Mogul empire as well as the beginning of its distintegration. After his death, feeble rulers were unable to check the growing strength of the native Mahrattas and the English East India Company. The last of the Great Moguls was deposed after the Sepoy mutiny (1857) and the government passed into the hands of the British Crown.

First the Portuguese and then the Dutch began the European penetration. Generally, Portugal dominated the sixteenth and Holland the seventeenth centuries; in the eighteenth, France and England began their bitter rivalry which culminated in the victory of the English and the practical expulsion of the French. Neither nation began by annexations, but, according to the custom of the time, gave trade monopolies to companies, the English East India (1600) and the French East India (1664) companies. The French East India Company was subjected to the paternalism of the home government and, unlike its English rival, was practically a department of state. The royal patronage proved to be an economic incubus and the beginnings of the company were marked by severe losses. Despite these financial setbacks, trading stations, or "factories," were established at Surat (1668) and Masulipatam (1669), together with the more important posts of Chandernagore (1672) and Pondicherry (1674).

Although the French had entered India tardily, they were the first of the Europeans to attempt the task of empire building. The greatest of the French governor-generals was Dupleix (1697-1764), who came in 1720 as a member of the Superior Council of Pondicherry. He became superintendent at Chandernagore in 1731; his successful administration led to his appointment as governor-general (1741). When he assumed the duties of his new position, the relations of the French with the natives were probably stronger than those of the English. Dupleix lacked military leadership, but was adept in diplomacy and intrigue, by means of which he took

advantage of the impotence of the native rulers and the dissolution of the Mogul empire to strengthen French interests. In carrying out this program, he received scant support from Paris or the French East India Company, for at that time Louis XV and his mistress, Madame Pompadour, along with the court party, had no aspirations for an empire in India.

Due to their business ingenuity and enterprise, the English secured exceptionally favorable locations for their posts; before the end of the seventeenth century, the foundations for their control were securely laid. The first stations were opened at Masulipatam (1611) and at Surat (1612), the latter long remaining the English headquarters on the west coast. The English company proceeded to encroach upon the prior rights of the Dutch in the Indian archipelago, but the latter were not prepared to lose their hard-won trading and colonial rights in the east without a struggle. Smouldering Dutch wrath culminated in the massacre at Amboina (1623), in which the Dutch governor tortured and put to death twelve English residents on the charge of conspiring to seize the Dutch fort. In England, the charge of conspiracy was regarded as very flimsy and the barbarous proceedings aroused popular indignation. England was in no position to engage in war at the time; it was not until 1654 that reparations were secured for the heirs of the victims. The significance of the Amboina Massacre was the tacit admission by the English East India Company of Dutch claims of a trade monopoly in the Spice Islands and the diversion of its attention to the mainland. The first acquisition of territory on the mainland was Madras, where Sir Francis Day built Fort St. George (1640). In 1661 the island of Bombay was ceded to the British Crown. Six years later, the Crown turned Bombay over to the East India Company for the annual sum of £ 10. Although a squalid fishing village, the insular position of Bombay protected it from native raids; the town increased in importance, until by 1687 the presidency of the west coast was transferred there from Surat. Calcutta, in the rich province of Bengal, became an English trading station in 1686, when an older factory was removed to this site.

By 1740, Anglo-French rivalry in India was so bitter that the time was ripe for conflict; the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession, in which France and England were opponents, meant clash of the rivals in India, although in the past they and the Dutch traders had adopted various agreements for local neutrality during Continental wars. Dupleix had drawn into the orbit of France several of the native states, and, to supply the deficiency of white troops, had formed an army of native soldiers ("sepoys"), who were drilled by French officers. In 1746 a French squadron easily captured the English post at Madras, but in the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), it was restored to England. The war in India proved to be indecisive; Dupleix had profited by the lack of able English leadership.

In India, the interval between the close of the War of the Austrian Succession and the outbreak of the Seven Years' War was marked by the War of the Carnatic. This conflict had its origin in Indian politics, and came while England and France were at peace. Hostilities were not outwardly between the two countries, but between rival native factions which had the support either of the English or French. In a disputed succession to the throne in the province of the Carnatic, Dupleix supported the claims of a pretender as *Nawab,* since he could be dominated more easily by the French than the rightful claimant favored by the English. Dupleix succeeded in placing his puppet on the throne, but in the ensuing war proved to be no match for the English and their native allies, under the leadership of the youthful Robert Clive, who captured and later successfully defended the capital of the Carnatic, Arcot (1751). This amazing battle, even more than the battle of Plassey six years later, strengthened British prestige in India.

Robert Clive (1725-1774), the founder of the British empire in India, was sent to Madras as a clerk in the service of the English East India Company. Moody and shiftless, he became so despondent as to attempt suicide. He had arrived at Madras in 1744, at the outbreak of hostilities between the French and English, and saw service around Madras during the war, but, after the cessation of hostilities, he returned to civil duties. Clive's early military reputation was

established during the War of the Carnatic, and, contrary to popular belief, it was this war, and not the later Seven Years' War, in which he bested Dupleix and foiled his plans. Since England and France were at peace at the time (1751), the rival East India companies began to curb their officials in India, for warfare was very expensive and might provide the spark for a Continental war. Dupleix, in particular, was considered by the French company as a turbulent and dangerous spirit. As a consequence of his Indian policy, he expended great sums of money and returned meager profits to France; his administrative policies were reversed by the home officials and he was recalled in 1754. With the only able French leader out of the way, ultimate English success in India was assured.

Clive's next work was in Bengal, where British expansion around Calcutta had aroused the suspicion of the local *Nawab.* In 1756, the *Nawab* seized the English fort at Calcutta and locked 146 Europeans in a tiny, ill-ventilated, military jail where they passed the sultry June night. Next morning only twenty-three came forth alive from this terrible "Black Hole" of Calcutta. Clive led a relief expedition to Bengal and regained Calcutta with little difficulty. It is possible that peace might have been restored if he had not captured the French settlement of Chandernagore. The *Nawab* had held aloof from the broils of European war; enraged by Clive's breach of peace, he allied with the French. Clive had anticipated this step and entered into negotiations with his discontented subjects and bribed a native military commander to turn traitor. The decisive engagement occurred at Plassey (1757), where Clive's little army defeated the *Nawab* and his superior forces.

The Battle of Plassey made the English dominant in Bengal and laid the foundations of the British Empire of India. Elsewhere in India, British arms triumphed over the French, who, unable to secure reinforcements from home, were forced to rely upon Sepoys. By the Treaty of Paris (1763), closing the Seven Years' War, France recovered her territorial possessions, but was not allowed to maintain troops in Bengal or to build forts. The French traders were allowed some trading privileges, but their dream of empire was dispelled.

XI

EUROPE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In accordance with the Act of Settlement (1688) Anne became Queen of England in 1702. She was weak, dull, and unduly subject to personal influence, especially that of the Earl of Marlborough and his wife. She was passionately devoted to the Established Church and therefore hated the Whigs because of their advocacy of toleration for dissenters and limitation of royal prerogative. Party lines were more sharply drawn. The Tories opposed religious toleration and the growing power of commercial interests. The Whigs, on the other hand, urged governmental encouragement of trade, in accordance with the mercantilist doctrines. They also were committed to a policy of religious toleration and curtailment of the power of the Crown. In the main, they represented progress and policies beneficial to the nation rather than to a class.

The War of the Spanish Succession, which had begun in the reign of William III (1701), was energetically prosecuted on the Continent. Marlborough controlled diplomacy as well as military activity; his victory at Blenheim (1704) was the most decisive of the war. The fundamental mistake of his diplomacy, however, was to push Louis XIV too far, thus needlessly prolonging the war in the face of rising popular complaint.

In 1707, the Act of Union completed the incorporation of Scotland. The act established the Kingdom of Great Britain, with one Parliament. It provided for forty-five Scottish representatives in the House of Commons as well as sixteen peers to be selected for each session of the Scottish baronage. There was to be free trade between Scotland and England.

The impeachment of Dr. Sachervell (1710) produced the wildest excitement. In a sermon at St. Paul's he had inveighed against toleration and the Whigs who sponsored it. Although convicted,

the doctor received a light sentence which, however, enabled him to pose as a martyr. In the attendant surge of anti-Whig sentiment, Anne dismissed Mrs. Freeman (Marlborough's wife) as well as several Whig ministers, who were replaced by Tories. Marlborough clung to power, but ultimately was engulfed by the rising tide of opposition to the war. He was dismissed from command on charges of misappropriation of funds entrusted to him. He probably had used this money for the maintenance of secret service. New peers were created at his fall, giving the Tories complete control of the Lords.

The death of Anne prevented the pro-Stuart intrigues of Bolingbroke from reaching fruition. George I (1714-1727), Elector of Hanover, was called to the throne, in accordance with the settlement of 1688. The new ruler was stolid, petulant, and disdainful toward English customs and traditions; his justice, dependability, and frugality were more favorable characteristics. While it is true that his chief interests were in Hanover, they nevertheless coincided in the main with the interests of England. The king's ignorance of the English language and the usages of parliamentary government forced him to rely on his ministers, thus accelerating the evolution of the cabinet system of government.

Bolingbroke, who had been forced to flee to France as a result of the premature disclosure of his Stuart intrigues, fomented a general uprising in the north, wherein he utilized prevalent discontent to attempt the restoration of the pretender. The rebellion, however, was quelled before it seriously endangered the Hanoverian government.

Townshend, who had been George's chief advisor since his accession, was dismissed in 1716 largely because of his attitude towards the treaty with France, concluded in that year. Stanhope, his successor, was interested primarily in financial reform; his creation of a sinking fund was an indubitably constructive measure. The project to refund the public debt by having the holders of governmental annuities exchange them for shares in the South Sea Company, ended in disaster. To forestall competition, especially from the Bank

of England, the Company paid a bonus to the government and also issued shares which it distributed gratuitously to important personages. The shares soared on a wave of frenzied speculation. Companies were formed for every type of mad project—to raise hulks off the coast of Ireland, to extract oil from sunflower seeds, to make perpetual motion machines, and even to finance "an undertaking in due time to be revealed." The collapse of the Mississippi Bubble in France precipitated the debacle of the South Sea ventures. Stanhope was forced to resign and was replaced by Robert Walpole. The defunct company's affairs were terminated on as equitable a basis as possible; many important political figures were ruined by the scandalous revelations that accompanied the work of liquidation.

Walpole, with great adroitness, strengthened his dominance in the ministry by use of patronage to retain control of Commons. His keen judgment and tenacious adherence to convictions offset his coarseness and sensuality. He held the positions of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. George II (1727-1760) did not attend cabinet sessions; Walpole presided over the meetings and became "the first prime minister" in fact, if not in theory. Few brilliant accomplishments distinguished his ministry, yet his devotion to peace, the encouragement of trade, and financial reform were constructive policies of first magnitude. When tension arose between England and Spain as a result of the "Jenkins's Ear" incident, Walpole strove to avert war, but ultimately bowed to public sentiment. His opposition to the war was the fundamental cause of his fall in 1742.

Active participation in continental affairs followed the retirement of Walpole from the ministry. The War of Jenkins's Ear merged with the larger struggle—the War of the Austrian Succession. With English troops on the Continent, the Stuart banner was again unfurled in the north (1745). "Bonnie Prince Charlie" boldly decided on an invasion of England; the resultant excitement precipitated a run on the Bank of England. The Battle of Culloden Moor (1746), the last major battle on English soil, and the reprisals of "Butcher" Cumberland, irreparably crushed the Stuart cause. The inconclusive peace

of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) brought the continental war to a close, with Frederick the Great of Prussia as virtually the sole beneficiary. The brief interlude of the Pelham ministry was devoted primarily to financial reform, but the outbreak of the Seven Years' War again directed attention to foreign interests, with William Pitt the guiding spirit.

As a result of the Diplomatic Revolution, England was allied with Prussia, in opposition to the coalition of France, Austria, and Spain. The loss of Minorca was a great blow; Admiral Byng was executed as a sacrifice to the national hysteria excited by the fear of French dominance in the Mediterranean. French expansion in India, under the able leadership of Dupleix, was more than matched by the genius of Robert Clive. The Battle of Plassey (1757) was the beginning of the expulsion of the French from their lucrative holdings. The main theatre of the war was in North America. Louisburg and Duquesne were captured by English and colonial forces; the victory was sealed with Wolfe's capture of Quebec.

The accession of George III (1760-1820) inaugurated an important era in English history. The new ruler "uncultivated by study and overgrown by prejudice," was stubbornly resolved to "be a king," although his administrative talents and the entrenchment of the cabinet system foredoomed efforts to revive personal rule. A King's Party was created; as patronage was shifted to these new Tories, the Whigs, including Pitt and Newcastle, retired.

Disaffection mounted during the Grenville ministry. John Wilkes was energetically prosecuted for his attacks on the government; issues of prime constitutional significance were involved. Much more formidable, however, was the rising tide of resentment engendered in the American colonies by the imposition of taxes designed to compensate, in a measure, for the expenses incurred in the wars with France. The Molasses Act was vigorously enforced; an extension of the Mutiny Act made the colonies liable for the quartering of troops. Great opposition was incited by the Stamp Act (1765) which, as an internal levy, was an unprecedented extension of the taxing power of the mother country. A "Stamp Act

Congress" stated the position of the colonies; they were unalterably opposed to the imposition of internal taxation without representation in Parliament. Tension eased with the repeal of the Stamp Act by the Rockingham ministry (1766), but the retirement of Chatham (Pitt) from the Chatham-Grafton ministry depressed hopes for an amicable settlement.

Lord Townshend's revenue measures reopened the controversy despite the fact that the right of Parliament to levy customs duties had not been challenged. Colonial resentment reached the critical stage in the North ministry. The Boston Massacre engendered a wave of denunciatory pamphlets. The Boston Tea Party of 1773 brought reprisals in the "Intolerable Acts" of 1774. Continental Congresses met in 1774 and again in 1775. In the meantime, the Battles of Lexington and Concord and the appointment of Washington as commander-in-chief of the forces raised by Congress destroyed the last chance of conciliation. On July 4, 1776, the colonies proclaimed their independence; the Declaration was a skillful bid for the sympathies of the English Whigs in that it attributed sundry oppressive acts to the king rather than to Parliament, to which responsibility really belonged.

In the first phase of the war, the struggle was localized; with the entrance of the French on the side of the colonists, following Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga, continental ramifications overshadowed the military activities in America. French aid was a factor of paramount significance in the American victory. The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown was forced by the timely co-operation of the French fleet with Washington's army. Minorca was lost in 1782; a number of English possessions in the West Indies were seized by the French. Military and naval reverses accentuated domestic discord in Britain. Proposals to remove Catholic disabilities precipitated the serious Gordon riots in London. Demands for governmental reform crystallized in the formation of committees of correspondence, the preparation of petitions, and the mounting strength of the Whigs. The disaffection culminated in the fall of the North ministry (March, 1782) and the inauguration of a series

of reforms under the auspices of Rockingham's Whig ministry. It was not until September, 1783, however, that peace was concluded by the coalition government of Fox and North; successful defense of Gibraltar and Rodney's victory in the West Indies placed Britain in a more favorable bargaining position.

The treaty acknowledged the independence of the thirteen colonies, with the northern boundary at the Great Lakes and the western at the Mississippi, navigation of which was to be open to both countries. France received negligible colonial concessions, while Spain recovered Minorca and received East Florida. The British Empire had received a terrific blow; discouragement and skepticism marked the end of the old colonial system, yet it soon became apparent that the great development of empire still was in the offing.

FRANCE

When the long reign of Louis XIV closed, the throne passed to his minor great-grandson, Louis XV (1715-1774). Carefully laid plans for a Council of Regency were set aside with the connivance of the *Parlement* of Paris, with the result that the Duke of Orleans was proclaimed regent with virtually untrammeled authority. Fleury, Bishop of Frejus, became the tutor of the young monarch and laid the foundations of a personal influence that subsequently was to give him enormous power.

The financial stringency engendered by the disastrous wars of the preceding reign was in no wise abated by the feeble efforts of the Orleans regime. The government, therefore, proved amenable to the persuasive arguments of John Law, a Scotch adventurer, and identified itself with his nebulous financial schemes, which centered in grandiose plans for the exploitation of the Mississippi Valley. Adroit manipulation, buoyed up by a wave of speculative frenzy, for a time imparted plausibility to Laws' plans, but the inevitable reaction came when the company proved unable longer to carry the burden of obligations redeemable on demand. The bursting of the Mississippi Bubble (1721) was a financial catastrophe to the French government;

another long step was taken towards complete insolvency that was to precipitate the Revolution.

Religious strife was revived with the attempts to enforce the bull *Unigenitus* against the Jansenists. The sect had been formed by Cornelius Jansen (1585-1638), who based his teachings on the predestination doctrines of St. Augustine. Spirituality was emphasized as a reaction against abstruse theology and perfunctory conformity but the leaders of the movement always insisted that they had no intention of leaving the Catholic Church. Remnants of the *Fronde* affiliated with the sect, while the adherence of powerful intellects, such as Pascal, Arnauld, and Racine, gave new vigor to the movement. The "Miracles of St. Medard" and purported gifts of healing and prophecy possessed by the sectarian zealots exerted widespread appeal. The Jesuits were in the vanguard of those who clamored for persecution; Du Bois, ambitious for the cardinal's hat, also strenuously advocated suppression of the group. As Rocquain has pointed out, the popular reception of the Jansenist movement was indicative of the profound discontent that was to culminate in revolution.

During the Bourbon ministry, the bethrothal of the king to the Spanish Infanta was repudiated in favor of the Polish marriage. The marriage of Louis to Maria, daughter of Stanislaus, claimant to the Polish throne, engendered an alliance that materialized in the participation of France in the War of the Polish Succession (1733-1738). In 1740, France was drawn into the War of the Austrian Succession, largely because of the traditional rivalry of Bourbon and Hapsburg dynasties; the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) emphasized the futility of this policy and paved the way for the shift of alliances in 1756.

In 1723, Louis assumed personal direction of governmental policies. He "opened his mouth, said little, and thought not at all." Mistresses such as Madame Pompadour and Madame du Barry exercised enormous influence even in major matters of policy. Reaction against the revival of autocracy precipitated a bitter struggle with the *Parlement* of Paris. Ever since the Middle Ages, *Parlement*

claimed the right to annul royal decrees by refusal to register them. A procedure, known as a "Bed of Justice," had been employed by Louis XIV to curb these pretensions. When the *Parlement* obdurately refused to register decrees of Louis XV, the king exiled its members to Troyes and transferred its functions and prerogatives to provincial *parlements*. This constitutional struggle likewise was a harbinger of the Revolution.

An outstanding development of the eighteenth century was the westernization of Russia and its emergence as a great power. The beginnings of Russia go back to the establishment of trading posts in the Dnieper Valley by the Swedes, or Varangians. Kiev and Novgorod became thriving centers. The natives called the newcomers "Rous," or men of the oar; the word Russia is derived from this root. Trade connections with the Byzantine Empire were close; indeed, Constantinople was the terminus for much of the trade from the Dnieper Valley. Commercial contacts facilitated diffusion of Byzantine cultural influences, with the result that Vladimir the Great (980-1015), ruler of Kiev, was converted to the Byzantine form of Christianity.

Conquest by the Tatars, under Genghis Khan, was a terrible blow to the Russian principalities. Heavy tribute was levied by the leaders of the "Golden Horde"; military service likewise was exacted by the conquerors. Expulsion of the Tatars was facilitated by the disintegration of the great Mongolian Empire that followed the death of Tamerlane (1405). Moscow was the center of the wars of liberation. Ivan the Great (1462-1505) established the authority of Moscow over about eighty principalities; Ivan the Terrible (1533-1584) virtually completed the annexation of the Khanates and assumed the title of Czar. A period of civil wars, centering around the usurpation of Boris Goudonov, followed the close of Ivan's reign. Order was restored, however, with the coronation of Michael Romanov (1613), the founder of the dynasty that was to rule until 1917.

Infusion of western ideas began in the reign of Peter the Great (1689-1725). The czar was coarse, sensuous to the point of bestiality, and almost incredibly cruel. Yet he was passionately devoted to the

attainment of objectives which he considered of paramount importance to the prosperity and prestige of the empire. He traveled extensively in the more enlightened countries of Europe; he attended sessions of legislative bodies, inspected factories and shipyards. He even donned workman's attire and worked at various trades to familiarize himself with the western industrial techniques which he hoped to introduce in his native land.

Upon return to Russia, he forced the adoption of western ideas on his recalcitrant subjects. Customs hallowed by centuries of tradition were ruthlessly abolished. The men were ordered to shave, and shorten their coats; barbers and tailors were stationed at strategic points to enforce the regulations. Women were emancipated from the oriental restrictions of the *tirim* and forced to conform to new usages in dress. Industries were modernized to a considerable degree; the immigration of foreign craftsmen was encouraged to promote the movement. Resentment towards the policies of the czar culminated in a revolt of the imperial bodyguard (Streltsi), which was pitilessly crushed. Peter personally decapitated many of the soldiers who were implicated in the uprising. The administrative bureaucracy, hitherto a model of ineptitude and corruption, was thoroughly revamped. Graft was largely eliminated; inefficiency gave way to the methods of more progressive countries.

Economic development of the country was hindered by the dearth of harbor facilities. Archangel, on the White Sea, was frozen during the greater part of the year; the Siberian ports were too remote, prior to the era of railways, to be of much service. Peter accordingly resolved to secure "a window" on the Baltic. As a result of the Great Northern War, he received a strip of coast on the Baltic. Here he founded St. Petersburg, which was built in the face of profoundly discouraging obstacles, to become the capital and leading port. At Peter's death, Russia was a major European power, destined to play an important part in international affairs in the reign of Catherine the Great.

Equally striking was the emergence of Prussia as a major European power. The nucleus of this state was the Margravate of Brandenburg,

which was created for Albert the Bear as a phase of the defense of the eastern frontier of Germany against the Slavs. In 1415, the emperor, Sigismund, bestowed the margravate on Frederick of Hohenzollern; under this dynasty its destiny was to be achieved. In 1618, Brandenburg was united with Prussia, which had been conquered and civilized largely as a result of the work of the Teutonic Knights (1190). The Thirty Years' War brought many vicissitudes to the principality; at the accession of the Great Elector (1640) the outlook was well-nigh hopeless.

The genius of Frederick William, the Great Elector (1640-1688) was largely responsible for the transformation of an impoverished, disorganized state into a factor in continental affairs. Natural resources were developed. Settlement of frugal, capable Dutch farmers was encouraged, while immigration of French Huguenots gave impetus to industrial development. The construction of a canal gave Berlin access to the Baltic and thus overcame a great obstacle in the way of economic progress. An efficient administration was evolved, with a council of state as its central organ and appointed stadtholders as local representatives. Refractory nobles were bent to the will of the elector; centralized government became a reality. A standing army of 30,000 replaced the crude, undisciplined levies which hitherto had constituted the only available military force. Adroit diplomacy with Poland procured full rights of sovereignty over Prussia. Frederick, son of the Great Elector, was crowned King of Prussia in 1701. Preoccupied with the trappings of royalty, he did little to advance the prosperity or prestige of the kingdom.

Under Frederick I (1713-1740), Prussia became a veritable armed camp. Irascible and parsimonious, the king considered no expenditure too large if it enhanced the strength of his beloved army. Conscription and recruiting that even extended into foreign countries assembled tall, robust soldiers. Harsh discipline and constant practice kept the efficiency of the "blue children" at high level. The populace were impelled to industry by the forceful policies of the ruler. The tall figure of the king, clad in an old army overcoat, was a familiar sight on the streets of Berlin. Idlers were accosted and, if not

employed, soundly belabored with the king's cudgel and summarily marched to work. Even the apple-women were required to busy themselves with knitting while awaiting customers.

The king's son was a source of profound disappointment. The future Frederick the Great preferred French verse to martial exercises, practice on the flute to the deliberations of the council chamber. Parental discipline, which went to the length of corporal punishment in the sight of the soldiery, was unavailing; finally, Frederick and a boon companion fled to Paris. They were brought back and the prince was forced to witness the execution of his most intimate friend. His spirit at last was crushed. He served his apprenticeship in army and bureaucracy, but did not abandon his friendship with Voltaire and his cultural interests.

When Frederick came to the throne, his unhappy youth was reflected in cynicism, ruthlessness, and duplicity. Austria was shorn of Silesia in the War of the Austrian Succession; West Prussia was acquired as a result of the First Partition of Poland (1772). Subsidies from England made Prussia the outstanding power during the Seven Years' War. Internal reforms of enduring value were carried out. Religious tolerance promoted immigration of Huguenots and other refugees from persecution whose presence proved a distinct economic asset. Serfdom was abolished on crown estates and material progress made toward general emancipation. Reclamation projects and technical improvements enhanced the productivity of agriculture. The bureaucracy was revamped and improved; it became a model of efficiency.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The Treaty of Utrecht, which terminated the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713), inaugurated a new era in European diplomacy. England secured Nova Scotia and Hudson Bay from France; the dissolution of the great French colonial empire had begun. Spain ceded Gibraltar to England and the Spanish Netherlands to Austria. The *asiento* clause permitted a modicum of English trade with Spanish America and also granted the English a monopoly of the slave

trade to the Spanish dependencies. Milan and Parma passed to the control of Austria. The powers recognized the validity of Anne's accession to the English throne.

By the Treaty of Rastadt (1714), France completed her renunciation of Italian interests by the cession of Sardinia and Naples to Austria; Sicily was assigned to the Duke of Savoy. In return, France received a clear title to Alsace and Lorraine; the Hapsburgs confirmed the provisions of the Treaty of Westphalia in respect to these territories.

The period 1714-1720 was characterized by the rivalry of Austria and Spain for Italian territory. Elizabeth of Parma, the Spanish Queen, was extremely ambitious for her son, Don Carlos. She wished to secure a crown for him and concentrated her desires on the acquisition of Sardinia and Sicily. A Quadruple Alliance, comprised of England, France, Holland, and the Empire, was formed in 1720 to frustrate Spanish policy. A compromise eventually was evolved whereby Sicily was transferred to the Empire while Don Carlos was promised the succession to Parma and Tuscany.

Divergent claims and interests in Italy were projected into the War of the Polish Succession (1733-1738). The immediate cause of the war was a disputed election to the Polish throne. Louis XV of France backed the candidacy of his father-in-law, Stanislaus Leszczynski, whereas Russia, aided by Austria, supported August of Saxony. The Third Treaty of Vienna (1738) brought the struggle to a close. Stanislaus renounced his claims to Poland and received Lorraine and the Duchy of Bar as compensation. Francis, Duke of Lorraine, received Tuscany, in return for his cession of Lorraine; he married Maria Theresa, heiress to the Hapsburg possessions. Don Carlos of Spain renounced his claims to Parma and Milan, but was crowned king of the Two Sicilies (Naples and Sicily). The treaty stabilized Italian issues until the Napoleonic era. A Spanish dynasty ruled the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies; Austria controlled North Italy, while Central Italy remained under the rule of the papacy.

The chief objective of the diplomacy of the Emperor Charles VI had been secured with ratification of the Pragmatic Sanction, which

ostensibly assured the succession of his daughter, Maria Theresa. When Charles died, however, Frederick the Great of Prussia repudiated the Pragmatic Sanction by the seizure of Silesia. This aggression precipitated the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748). France, in conformity to her traditional enmity towards the Hapsburgs, allied with Prussia; war with Sweden kept Russia out of the struggle. Frederick gained several smashing victories and, after his annexation of Silesia was confirmed by the Treaty of Berlin (1742), withdrew from the war. France, left in the lurch, now bore the brunt of Austrian wrath. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) ended the war practically on the basis of the *status quo ante.*

At the same time the War of the Austrian Succession was raging on the Continent, England and France were engaged in the "War of Jenkins's Ear." England had greatly exceeded the commercial privileges granted by the *asiento* clause and the Spanish authorities accordingly endeavored to extirpate the illicit trade. Captain Jenkins, apprehended as a smuggler, was punished by a Spanish officer by the amputation of an ear. Some years later, upon return to England, Jenkins complained of the treatment he had received; even Parliament ultimately took cognizance of his tale. Public indignation, aroused by the "atrocity," was a factor in pushing England into war, despite the opposition of Walpole.

In 1756, a shift in traditional alliances occurred of such significance as to justify the term "Diplomatic Revolution." Count Kaunitz, the Austrian foreign minister, approached France with the intent of concluding an alliance. After all, there were few valid reasons for the continuance of the Bourbon-Hapsburg hostility. With the liquidation of the Italian issues, a major cause of friction had been removed. France coveted the Austrian Netherlands, but it had become clear that her real enemy was Prussia. Common enmity towards Prussia, therefore, drew France and Austria together; this alliance was countered by the conclusion of an understanding between England and Frederick.

The new alignments immediately were tested by the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). French expansion in the Ohio Valley had necessi-

tated the dispatch of an English army, under General Braddock, to arrest their aggressions. Braddock and his colonial allies were ambushed by a force of French and Indians and well-nigh annihilated. In the ensuing general war, England "won America on the continent of Europe." Heavy subsidies financed Frederick's brilliant continental campaigns that resulted in the decisive victories of Rossbach and Leuthen; American colonial armies, augmented by English contingents, energetically prosecuted the war in North America. The capture of Quebec led to the signing of the Treaty of Paris (1763). By this treaty, France surrendered Canada and agreed to evacuate her troops from India, retaining only a modicum of trading concessions. Louisiana was ceded to Spain, while Florida passed to England. Only pitiful remnants survived the crash of the once proud French colonial empire. Enormous financial outlays had been occasioned by the wars, while the loss of the colonies stripped the French government of potential sources of revenue. By 1763, France tottered on the brink of bankruptcy.

French intervention in the American Revolution was a decisive factor in the attainment of American independence. France, however, gained nothing but a measure of prestige and revenge for her losses in 1713 and 1763. England's loss of "the thirteen colonies" produced, in Europe, a skepticism in regard to colonization that resulted in a lull in imperialistic interests until the effects of the Industrial Revolution became manifest.

The Partitions of Poland constituted one of the most tragic episodes of European history. Internal dissension prostrated the energies of the kingdom; this was all the more dangerous in that Poland's frontiers touched those of Europe's most powerful nations, Austria, Russia, and Prussia. The throne of the kingdom was elective, a factor that made inevitable foreign interference. Economic prosperity was curtailed by the necessity for the productive elements of Polish society to support a disproportionately large, parasitic nobility. The Diet, made up of nobles and clergy, was farcical in its impotence. The *Liberum veto,* in effect, required unanimity for any action, while, by a procedure known as "Exploding the Diet," a single member could

force adjournment of the body. In 1772, the three nations each appropriated sections of Polish territory. In 1793, with French intervention precluded by the Revolution, Prussia and Austria carried through a second partition. With a third partition in 1795, Poland disappeared from the map of Europe. The injustice was not corrected until the Versailles Treaty of 1919.

During all the wars and diplomatic conflicts of the eighteenth century, the idea of "balance of power" was paramount. The acquisition of colonies complicated the issue. Concentration of colonial interests was just as disruptive of European equilibrium as more immediate dynastic interests on the Continent. The wars and the treaties they entailed flaunted the doctrine of "natural frontiers," to which so much lip service was rendered. Rights of minorities were disregarded; dynastic ambitions took precedence over national interests. Since the governments of the continental nations were despotic, there could be no popular check on policies that often were motivated by the desire of rulers for aggrandizement, even at the expense of the prosperity of their subjects. Secret diplomacy, callous repudiation of obligations when dictated by expediency, and the tortuous intrigues of court personages with ill-defined responsibility accentuated general insecurity.

XII

THE AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were characterized by the advance of rationalism with the consequent weakening of dogmatism and superstition. In large measure, the intellectual currents were the prolongation of movements initiated during the Renaissance. New ideas, as always, had to make headway against the innate conservatism of man that makes him impatient of doubt and loath to entertain ideas that disturb his mental complacency. Ecclesiastical authority, both Catholic and Protestant, clung tenaciously to revealed truth which it professed to expound. Ideas, in real or apparent disagreement with ecclesiastical dogmatism, were suppressed; in many instances with the connivance of secular authority.

Francis Bacon's (1561-1626) works were a powerful factor in producing more critical intellectual attitudes. In his *Advancement of Learning,* he held that the primary sources of error in human reasoning were reverence for antiquity, blind acceptance of popular ideas, failure to employ critical observation and experiment, and intellectual impatience which promotes hasty acceptance of tenuous conclusions. In the *Organum,* he dealt with the sources of fallacious reasoning in allegorical fashion. Inherent weaknesses of human reason he described as idols of the tribe. Observation, memory, and concentration unavoidably lag; every individual is constantly beset by the tendency to subordinate reason to emotion. Prejudices, or idols of the cave, the products of past training and experience, can be modified but not wholly eradicated. The necessity of framing ideas into words begets the idols of the market place. Men tend to substitute verbiage for reason, to cherish shibboleths, to render emotional obeisance to slogans. Uncritical adherence to philosophical schools Bacon termed idols of the theatre. Reverence for great names, another prolific source of error, he described as the idol of the forum.

René Descartes (1596-1650) was another major contributor to the triumph of reason. Scion of a noble family, his early education was entrusted to Jesuits. Left an orphan at an early age, he followed a military career and broadened his outlook by extensive travel. Soon after he devoted himself to mathematics and philosophy, he found it expedient to reside in Holland, which, because of the relative liberalism of its government, had become a veritable asylum for thinkers. As a mathematician, he was one of the founders of Analytic Geometry, an indispensable branch of the science. Methods utilized successfully in the solution of mathematical problems were applied to the broader problems of philosophy. He began by a process of rigid introspection; he divested himself of all ideas and preconceptions the truth of which he had not personally ascertained. He even questioned his own existence. A categorical denial of his existence at least involved the thought of such denial. He therefore found in his reasoning power the proof of his existence; "I think, therefore I am" was the famous aphorism in which he phrased this conclusion. Having rid his mind of all ideas which his own reason had not demonstrated to be true, he held that certain self-evident truths irresistibly impinged on his consciousness; these he called intuitions. From these intuitions he deduced corollaries, which, in turn, became intuitions to serve as the basis for continued deduction. In his failure to postulate any connection between mind and body, the philosopher, of course, was at variance with the tenets of modern psychology. Spinoza, a Portuguese Jew, who also fled to Holland, was his most illustrious intellectual disciple. His great contribution was to apply the Cartesian method to problems of ethics.

John Locke (1632-1704) followed the empiricism of Hobbes in his *Essays Concerning the Human Understanding.* He held that truth was the product of the working of experience, or sensation, on a virtually passive mind. David Hume (1711-1776) broached the thorny problem of causation. He found no necessary connection could be shown to exist among phenomena. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz (1646-1716) postulated the existence of innate, intuitive truths held in every mind. Ultimate substance he held to be self-sufficient, atomic

entities which he called *monads.* Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), in his monumental *Critique of Pure Reason,* closed the period of skepticism and empiricism and inaugurated a new era of philosophy. As a professor in the University of Königsberg, he became dissatisfied with the dogmatism of Wolff and the devastating skepticism of Hume and resolved to strike out along untried paths. He arrived at the conclusion that there are two types of knowledge; *a priori* knowledge is original, transcendant, and independent of experience. All sensations, he held, are submitted to space and time criteria; concepts of space and time are within every mind and consequently are intuitive. Knowledge, *a posteriori,* on the other hand, is gathered by experience. There are three approaches to truth: sense, understanding, and reason. Understanding, by submitting sense impulse to time and space concepts, transforms intuitions into conceptions such as unity, plurality, diversity. Reason, in turn, acting upon conceptions, evolves ideas. His doctrine of *a priori* knowledge is transmitted to his ethical system. Concepts of good and evil are innate; we all possess the "categorical imperative" which enables us to recognize some impulses as good, others as evil.

The impulse to scientific investigation inaugurated by the Renaissance brought rich harvest in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727) formulated his law of gravitation which culminated the astronomical and physical researches of Galileo and Kepler. He shared with Leibnitz the honor of inventing calculus, a branch of mathematics that has been of inestimable service to pure and applied science. Leonhard Euler (1707-1783) enriched virtually every branch of mathematics with his prolific researches. Marked progress was made in the discovery of the laws of electro-dynamics. Charles du Fay discovered the existence of positive and negative electricity; Franklin demonstrated the identity of electricity and lightning. Charles Coulomb (1736-1806) demonstrated that the law of inverse squares which Newton had shown in connection with gravitation applied to electrical attraction and repulsion. Volta invented the storage battery and conducted significant experiments in the measurement of electromotive force.

Equally significant were the contributions to chemistry. Robert Boyle showed that the volume of gases varied inversely with the pressure imposed on them. Joseph Priestley (1733-1804) discovered and prepared oxygen; his experiments with combustion definitively refuted the prevalent view that combustion was caused by union with "phlogiston." William Scheele (1742-1786) prepared hydrogen and was a pioneer in the employment of chlorine as a bleaching agent. Antoine Lavoisier (1743-1794), a brilliant French scientist who fell a victim to the Terror, shared with Priestley the discovery that combustion was in reality combination of a substance with oxygen. He evolved a system of chemical nomenclature that became standard for the science. He, as well as Henry Cavendish, demonstrated that water was composed of oxygen and hydrogen.

Discoveries of great significance were made in the biological sciences. Antony van Leeuwenhoek (1632-1723) completed the work of Harvey by showing that the blood coursed from arteries to veins by passing through capillaries. He also discovered the red corpuscles. Rudolf Camerarius (1665-1721) discovered the sexuality of plants.

Widened scientific and philosophical interests were reflected in the formation of academies and learned societies. The British Royal Society was established in 1645, followed three years later by the organization of the Dublin Philosophical Society. The French Academy was established in 1666, under the patronage of the Grand Monarch; the following year the Paris Observatory was founded. The famous Greenwich Observatory was established nine years later.

Rationalism, with its widening conception of natural laws, was projected into the religious sphere. Deism was an important development. Lord Herbert in his *De Veritate* (1624) was the most important founder of the movement. He held that there was one supreme God who was to be worshipped. Piety and virtue were essential, as was repentance for sins since there were rewards and punishments in eternity. These were the fundamental religious tenets—other doctrinal and dogmatic teachings were extraneous. In fully developed Deism, God was considered a unifying, controlling

force, working in the universe through natural laws. Men, endowed with free will and reason, were considered, by nature, good. Right living, then, was living in harmony with natural law. Deism had important humanitarian implications. Poverty, injustice, and other social ills were in contravention to natural law and accordingly to be ameliorated or, if possible, eliminated.

A striking evidence of enlightenment was a number of attacks against beliefs in witchcraft and the barbarous persecutions engendered by these superstitions. The basic idea involved in witchcraft was the belief that individuals could enter into compacts with the devil. Satan abetted them in their nefarious activities; in return, he claimed their souls upon the expiration of twenty-one years. It was believed that the contracts between men and the evil one were written in blood. Failure of crops, death of cattle, illness, almost any disaster in the daily life of the masses, was considered the result of the malevolence of witches. Thousands of poor wretches, mostly old women, were tortured into admission of guilt and burned at the stake. The church had officially recognized witchcraft and prescribed the same penalties as inflicted on heretics. Those who ventured to inveigh against these monstrous superstitions made no advance against the credulity of the masses; indeed they were greeted with contumely and vituperation by many in positions of authority in church and state. Nevertheless a beginning was made in a movement that ultimately was to banish the vicious belief in witchcraft from the minds of all persons with a modicum of intellect.

Strangulation of ideas by the imposition of censorship also came under fire during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The issue has continued to be a subject of controversy to our day. Those who justify censorship hold that writings and speeches often are subversive to government. Since any government is primarily concerned with self-preservation, it naturally will obstruct the expression of ideas which tend to undermine it. Diffusion of certain ideas may incite discontent and precipitate disorder. Since a primary duty of government is to maintain law and order, it is claimed that inflammatory ideas are to be suppressed at their source. Complete freedom of

expression may encourage attacks on religion; organized religious groups naturally oppose circulation of heterodox or agnostic ideas. Then, too, the question of public morals is involved. While there is no common agreement as to what constitutes obscenity, it is doubtless true that books, periodicals, and pornographic pictures are issued definitely to pander to the lascivious.

On the other hand, those who condemn censorship hold that any new idea is bound to incur opposition. Innate conservatism, prejudice, and selfish interest will be found arrayed against any significant innovation. Censorship can be imposed so rigorously as to impede, or even prevent, the dissemination of information or ideas of great benefit to all mankind. Many governments have done lip service to the ideal of free speech; few have hesitated to abridge it on political, religious, or moral grounds.

Prior to the seventeenth century, the right of church and state to restrict freedom of expression had not been seriously challenged. John Milton (1608-1674), the great English poet, was one of the first to insist on the right to express ideas, even though they were repugnant to the overwhelming majority of his contemporaries. He separated from his wife and attempted to defend his action by a book in which he held that marriage was a human institution, free from religious implications. His ideas were bitterly attacked; the basest motives were scurrilously imputed to him. Stung to retort, he published the *Areopagitica* in which he dealt with the broader question of freedom of expression. Later writers took up the question; Locke in his *Letter on Toleration* and Anthony Collins (1671-1729) in his *Discourse on Free Thinking* advanced basic arguments against censorship as did Pierre Bayle, famous French exponent of liberalism.

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHERS

The intellectual liberals of eighteenth century France have often been called the precursors of the Revolution. Whether or not this is true depends, to a degree, on how much credit can be given to ideas for the accomplishment of the great changes the Revolution

effected. A materially minded school of thinkers assigns to economic and social conditions the important rôle in the commencement of the revolutionary conflict. The middle-of-the-road point of view must give credit to both ideas and conditions. It seems fairly well established that the eighteenth century philosophers who were calling for reform of conditions as they existed would not have been especially happy in the way the changes they demanded were brought about.

During this century of French life, a major epidemic of philosophical discussion broke out in France. Volume after volume, pamphlet after pamphlet, expounded new views and theories concerning social, political, economic, and religious change. Out of the hundreds of writers and thinkers whose names might be mentioned, four stand out with brilliance for the effect they had on the thought of their own time, as well as for their contributions to the sum of human knowledge. These four were Voltaire, Montesquieu, Diderot, and Rousseau. These *philosophes* owed much to two Englishmen of the preceding century, Isaac Newton and John Locke, who together had admonished them to follow both experience and reason in their search for the secret truths of this life. Given these tools for research, the French thinkers applied themselves to the problems of their own day, and, by so doing, created the foundations for a new order in which the importance of popular sovereignty, the natural rights and ultimate perfectibility of man, found full flower.

François Arouet, known to us as Voltaire, was perhaps the most influential of the group during his own lifetime (1694-1778). He was a native of Paris, born the son of a notary. He received his early training from Jesuit priests. His father insisted that he enter the legal profession, rather than follow his own inclinations in the field of literary endeavor. Ultimately, the son's wishes prevailed. He wrote plays, poetry, history, essays, and treatises on any and all subjects, some of them so libelous in nature that he was incarcerated in the Bastille and forced from time to time into exile. A number of his plays were financially successful; from their proceeds he began a lifelong habit of speculation, most of which was highly profitable.

When, in 1725, he was insulted by the Chevalier de Rohan, and replied as was his nature, he was given a sound thrashing by the nobleman's servants. A challenge from Voltaire followed, but he was hurried off into English exile before a duel could take place. Life in England changed the content of his writings by materially modifying his intellectual outlook. The years which he spent among the English gentry resulted in the composition of literary work which made him one of the outstanding writers in Europe. The chief contribution of this English sojourn, to his point of view, came from his appreciation of the Englishman's manners and his tolerance where personal freedom of conscience and action was concerned. This wholehearted admiration of the British way of life was a constant inspiration to Voltaire in his endeavor to alter the course of French life, thought, and culture.

Voltaire's contact with Deism in England had a special significance in that on his return to France, he became the chief exponent of a more radical belief than prevailed in Britain. Deism was more than a belief in the existence of a God; it included a dislike of theological disputation as indulged in by the various religious sects. With this as a beginning, Voltaire undertook a lifelong attack on the church as an institution, not merely the Catholic Church, but churches in general. Perhaps one of the reasons why the Deistic movement found less opposition in England than it did in France was due to the fact that in the latter country the Catholic Church was an aggressive opponent of such views. Voltaire's attack was concentrated on three main issues: intolerance, superstition, and the pretensions of the church to control over the functions of the state. His weapon was the most satirical and caustic pen in Europe. With it he attempted to ridicule revealed religion out of existence and priests out of power. While his fight for tolerance was undoubtedly the major effort of his long life, he was himself singularly lacking in it.

Voltaire's other point of attack was the composition of the state as he found it. To his flaying of the government must be assigned whatever credit is due him for bringing on the Revolution; with caustic insinuation, in hyperbolic style, he exposed and ridiculed

judicial abuses and the evils of royal absolutism, class privilege, warfare, and the military class. He gained no decisive victories in his attacks on both church and state. Much of his life was spent in hiding, safe from sporadic persecution of the authorities. He was ever the subject of counter-attack, as he is to this day. Late in life, he spent a few unsatisfactory years at *Sans Souci,* with Frederick the Great of Prussia. He died an old and extremely wealthy man, but to the last, a friend of the downtrodden and oppressed. He has been considered the most versatile man of his age, but in spite of the diversity of his interests, his writing was based on superficial study and hasty observation. His work was mainly of a destructive nature; nevertheless, much had to be destroyed before constructive work could begin.

A more constructive mind was that of Montesquieu (1689-1755). Born a noble, he was trained in jurisprudence. He took a scientific interest in the study of government and on such study based his theories which were published, in 1748, in his *Spirit of the Law.* His conclusion was that the government of any particular country should be patterned according to the actual needs of the nation. From this, we may gather that he was the exponent of no particular type of government, except that which was best suited to the nation in question. He personally admired the English constitutional system, in spite of the faults which he pointed out as inherent in it. He became the leading advocate of the separation and balance of powers theory of government in which the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the government were of equal power and provided with constitutional checks and balances against the usurpation of any other branch. By some, he is classed as the father of modern political science. Perhaps the best characterization of his point of view was that he believed in moderation. Certainly, he would never have condoned revolution as a means to the end he desired.

As intellectually brilliant, and possessed of the same versatility as Voltaire, was the less renowned atheist, Diderot (1713-1784). His great contribution was in compiling the new learning of the age in a great work known as the *Encyclopedia.* In this enormous editorial

task, he brought together a group of contributors of varying degrees of liberal thought and created a thirty-five-volume work which was more than a synthesis of the knowledge of the day; it amounted to a liberal manifesto. As such, the task of obtaining its publication, in the face of governmental restriction, was stupendous. The Encyclopedists used their great work as a medium for the dissemination of Deistic views, the teaching of rationalism, the criticism of an outworn religion and corrupt society, and the destruction of prejudice and bigotry. Intolerance of church and state was attacked; governmental tyranny and incompetence came in for their share of condemnation as did the outworn penal system and the continued existence of slavery in the colonial possessions of the mercantilist nations. This work had a wide circulation throughout Europe and had an incalculable effect in the education of disciples of a new and better order.

The individual in this rationalistic age whose ideas had the greatest ultimate influence was undoubtedly Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). His literary efforts led him into not only the rôle of a social reformer, but into that of an extreme exponent of the revolutionary movement. He can be understood only in the light of his early life, during the first forty years of which he was unknown. Left to drift for himself at an early age, the Geneva-born philosopher and romanticist entered on a life of wandering which led him into a dozen different occupations and through as many countries. His mind became perverted in such manner as to make the first half of his life appear an unwholesome failure. When mature, he turned to the expression of his pent-up emotions and displayed a heart and mind in which beauty, love, and generosity formed no small part. In his writings, he broke away from the spirit of his times in which rationalism had come to be a dominant principle and introduced thousands to a philosophy in which the spiritual nature of man played a greater rôle. His experience with the sordid and the mean in life gave him a fund of material upon which to draw and we find him advocating a return to the contentment of primitive mankind, since, as he saw it, learning, wealth, and urbanization had brought only unhappiness in their wake. He held that man was by nature good; civilization had

merely served to entrench greed, dishonesty, and wretchedness. He saw society as a condition in which the few profited at the expense of the masses. These were facts with which, he held, it was impossible for a philosophy of rationalism to deal. The works which followed one another from his prolific pen again forced him into a life of vagabondage and exile which ended only when death brought relief from persecution and periodic spells of insanity.

Rousseau's best known work was *The Social Contract.* He pointed out that the introduction of property rights into a world of free and equal men had made the strong dominant over the weak, had brought profit to the few at the expense of the many. Since this was wrong, he advocated a return to that natural state in which the people were again sovereign. Then, men might delegate their powers anew for the purpose of providing essential government. The right to delegate the sovereign power implied the right to revoke it, when and if the delegated ruler used it to the detriment of the people. The title of his work was based on this concept; man, possessed of the natural rights of life, liberty, and property, bestowed his rights on a ruling power whose duty it was to rule for the common good. The arrangement was thus in reality a contract between a society and its ruler, a contract which might be revoked when the ruler failed in his obligations. From such ideas came the revolutionary concept of popular sovereignty and delegated sovereignty of a government by consent of the people. Just how revolutionary these views were will be understood when it is recalled that in the Bourbon concept of government, the king's will was absolute by grace of God. Whether or not *The Social Contract* set the pace for revolutionary thought in the decades which followed its publication is still debatable. Certainly, it started "back to nature" fads. The work was widely read and later liberals did not adopt a philosophy widely at variance with that of the unhappy Rousseau.

The work which was directly responsible for sending into hiding the best intellect the age had produced was the publication *Emile.* In it he outlined, on the basis of his "back to nature" thesis, a system of education. Let the child, he declared, follow his natural inclina-

tion, rather than force on him the mannerisms and habits of an evil civilization. Teach him that which is practical, something that he may use to good purpose when he must make his own way in the world, rather than the dead languages which he learns only to forget. The influence of these teachings has not yet passed, for the principles underlying his views still find a major place in the educational philosophy of our own day. None of his writings can be used as a text, for in action, as in words, he was noted for his inconsistencies and his ignorance of facts. His own children, for example, he placed in orphans' homes.

A further development in the intellectual life of the eighteenth century was in the field of political economy. The men most interested in the development of new concepts in this branch of endeavor called themselves Physiocrats. They organized about a physician in the court of Louis XV, Doctor Quesnay, when he denounced as erroneous the mercantilistic philosophy underlying the governmental economic policies of the day. Important in the group were Rivière, Dupont de Nemours, Gournay, and Turgot. Their interest was centered more on the material than on the intellectual progress of France. In their writings they emphasized the economic rather than the political management of the state. With such aims, the group was brought to consider such subjects as agrarian economy, production of wealth and its distribution, taxation, governmental expenditure, and kindred subjects. According to one eminent authority, the two chief contributions of the Physiocrats were the idea of the single tax on real property and the proposal to eliminate internal taxes which the French government had placed on the grain trade. In keeping with the other philosophers of the day, they attempted to prove that these two policies were based on natural law, and, as such, were the epitome of justice. In the logical evolution of such proof, they arrived ultimately at the substance of the well-known doctrine of *laissez faire* as the best possible for a government to promote the industrial and commercial welfare of the state.

In contrast, the mercantilist believed that if the citizens of a state were prosperous, the nation itself would prosper. The state was

therefore bound to assist and aid its citizenry in every possible way to attain a competence. Such governmental paternalism took the form of state regulation of manufacturing and commerce to the minutest detail, the chief purpose of which was to preserve and enhance the nation's total gold supply. The various mercantilist nations of Europe had entered a period of colonization with a view to sending manufactured articles to their colonies in return for raw products which they expected would more than pay the costs of manufacture and transportation, thus creating a balance of trade and the desired surplus of gold. Such policies required strict regulation of imports and exports, the subsidization of industry and the carrying trade, and the creation of a large naval force for the protection of the colonies and their trade. The mercantilistic policies adopted by Colbert carried the system to extremes. In brief, the mercantilist called for colonies which could produce raw materials unavailable in the mother country. He wanted the colonies to possess no industries which could compete with those at home or enhance the prosperity of any other nation. He expected the colonies to pay a portion of the costs of the home government. The obvious injustices of such a system gave the Physiocrats sufficient cause for demanding reform.

The penetration of physiocratic principles into Great Britain resulted in the popularization of the doctrine of *laissez faire* through the writings of the Scotchman, Adam Smith. His well-known *Wealth of Nations* was published in 1776. He held that the manner in which a capitalist used his resources was no concern of the government. He enunciated in clear form the concept of the economic freedom of the individual from governmental regulation and interference. Freedom of trade, of labor, and of the use of one's abilities and personal possessions were the natural rights of mankind; it was not the function of the government to interfere. The doctrine had been previously evolved and named by the Physiocrats. It was to serve as the foundation stone of governmental economic policies for well over a century.

The *laissez faire* doctrine has been seriously questioned during the past two decades, and in some nations has already been wholly

discarded. The evils of which the Physiocrats complained, unequal distribution of wealth, unfair taxation, exploitation of the weak, were not eliminated through the adoption of the philosophy popularized by Adam Smith. True, much that was great was accomplished while its principles were followed, but reformers of the present generation have pointed out that it carried much evil in its wake. Even England has been forced to abandon her free trade policy. Italy, Germany, and Russia have returned to strict governmental regulation of trade and commerce. In the United States, regulation has been carried as far as the constitution has permitted.

The atrocious investigative procedure and punishments permitted under the harsh European criminal legal systems served to arouse almost all of the social reformers of the time. Torture was still a fixed part of the investigative procedure except in England. It was the means, in many instances, whereby a confession was obtained whether the defendant was guilty as charged or not. Secret trials were the order of the day. The accused was often without benefit of counsel; judgments were, by custom, summarily inflicted. Not only was the judicial procedure unfair and horrible in its application, but it did not effectually check crime. The very harshness of the system served to harden the criminal classes rather than start them back on the road to a better life. Hanging was common even for minor offenses, while major offenders suffered torture and death on the bone-breaking cartwheel. The loathsome condition in which the prisons were maintained served further to kindle the ire of humanitarians of the day. Lacking in light and cleanliness, they were cesspools of filth and charnel houses for the unfortunate inmates.

An early and influential exponent of penal reform was the Italian nobleman and jurist, Cesare Beccaria (1738-1794). In his short study, called *Crimes and Punishments* (1764), he called for substantial revision of the criminal procedure and law as practiced in Europe. He believed that a law was best which served the greatest number best. He advocated the idea that only reasonable and fair law or punishment was essential to the preservation of society. There could be no rational excuse for laws which were more severe than

conditions demanded. His practical recommendations were quite as sound as his theory. He proposed the compilation of short and understandable codes of criminal law for the reasonable safety of the state as well as the individual. He advocated the abolition of torture in investigation, trial, and punishment, the equality of all men before the law, public trials, and the abolition of capital punishment. He insisted that the interests of society could be better served with a mild code of criminal law which was quick and positive in its conviction of criminals. The ideas of Beccaria were of widespread interest throughout Europe, but their immediate effect was disappointingly slight. His service was to sow the seed of judicial and penal reform; more than a generation later, the English reformers were to take up the task he had so capably begun.

BOOK FOUR

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON

XIII

CONDITIONS IN EUROPE ON THE EVE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

In the two centuries of Bourbon rule prior to 1789, the French monarchy reached the apex of absolutism. A decline had set in during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, but many medieval French institutions persisted to the outbreak of the Revolution. In some respects the Revolution may be considered as a transition from medieval feudalism and absolutism to democratic governmental forms. The feudal system was based on class distinctions, which were replaced by civil equality. The manorial system, with its many faults and abuses, still prevailed; serfdom was rather common. The gilds, too, constituted a powerful reactionary influence in the fields of commerce and manufacturing. An important medieval survival was the influence of the church upon the affairs of state; especially was this true in the control which it exercised over education. French society was divided into three major classes or estates: the Clergy or First Estate, the Nobility or Second Estate, and the Third Estate. The stratification of society was considerably more complex than this simple statement would seem to indicate and was rendered obnoxious by virtue of the different rights, privileges, and opportunities which were the prerogatives of each class. While the privileges and exemptions were enjoyed chiefly by the two upper estates, the exactions fell heaviest upon the Third Estate which was a decided majority of the whole population.

With the exceptions of Holland and Great Britain, the prevailing type of government in Europe was that of royal absolutism, a type which had been brought to the very peak of development in France under Louis XIV (1643-1715). During the fifty years preceding the French Revolution, however, a number of European rulers were, to a degree, cognizant of the need for reform in the governmental and

social institutions of their respective countries. While they continued their strong advocacy of the doctrine of the divine right of kings and were outstanding proponents of royal absolutism, they sought to bring about some measure of reform through their own personal efforts. Hence, they have been termed the "Benevolent" or "Enlightened Despots." Chief among them was Frederick II (1740-1786) of Prussia, a despot to the core, yet a man who, in his years of peaceful rule, did much in the way of reforming Prussia. He granted religious freedom, founded towns, drained lowlands, aided and encouraged industrial progress, and did much that was frankly liberal in a world that was becoming progressively more reactionary. Catherine the Great (1762-1796) of Russia, was another enlightened ruler of the period. She was a German princess who interested herself in the Europeanization of Russia, and, while her actual reforms were of little moment, her intentions probably entitle her to the distinction of "Benevolent." A third ruler in this group was Joseph II (1780-1790) of Austria. In his ten-year reign, wholehearted attempts to bring about a better order were defeated, but he had at least made a sincere and determined effort.

The government of France, under the later Bourbons, was marked by corruption, tyranny, and ineptitude. The root of these conditions lay in the fact that the king claimed the right to rule by grace of God, rather than by the consent of the people. Hand in hand with the doctrine of divine right was the absolute nature of the king's power. What the monarch wished was legal because he so wished; it was the duty of the people to obey. France possessed no active parliamentary institutions like those found in England. True, the *Parlement de Paris* might refuse to register a law, but it had no power to propose or pass one. Even the power to refuse registration of a law had been nullified during the reign of Louis XV. The king could force the *Parlement* to register the law by a ceremony known as the *Lit de Justice* (Bed of Justice). If the king resorted to this means of forcing recognition of an edict, the *Parlement* either registered the law or was subject to summary dismissal. The *Parlement de Paris* was, therefore, essentially a judicial, rather than a legislative, institution.

The centralization of the government in the hands of the king was not necessarily a governmental fault. Unless the king happened to be incompetent for the discharge of his multitudinous duties, this form of centralized, though not unified, government worked satisfactorily. Under Louis XVI, the administration of the national government was divided among four divisions of which the chancellory was perhaps the most important from the standpoint of initiating legislative matters and control over judicial affairs. The Chancellor was peculiarly secure in his tenure of office compared with other officials in the upper brackets of the administration. There were some four Secretaries of State whose assigned duties were: the king's domestic establishment, foreign relations, naval affairs, and war.[3] The Controller-General possessed wide financial jurisdiction and powers. The position was especially trying during the decades before 1789 because of the financial plight of the government. The last of the administrative departments, the Royal Council, was itself divided into some four different councils of varying size and importance.[4] Centralized as the administration may have been in theory, it will be seen that the very complexity of the machinery of government must ultimately lead to waste of effort, discord, and pronounced confusion. That the monarchy was able to postpone internal strife so long seems to have been due to the long tenure of the bureaucracy which attended routine affairs in the capital, and to the competent, well established local officials throughout France.

A second factor in the promotion of governmental abuses was the influence which "favorites" had with the monarch, his queen, or someone within the royal household. The high point of this development was during the later years of the reign of Louis XV, when with the rise to power of Madame de Pompadour, the control of the kingdom seemed to have fallen into hands that were no longer capable of giving intelligent direction. During the years of the reign of Louis XVI till 1789, court favorites received nearly one hundred

[3] They were charged with territorial administration as well.

[4] These were: the Privy Council, the Council of State, a financial council, and a Council of Dispatches.

million dollars in one form or another. Advancement, position, and wealth were to be gained not so much on merit as by the proper word, at the opportune moment, through the mediation of some reigning royal favorite.

The wasteful expenditure in ostentatious display at Versailles, though possibly in keeping with the powers of the monarch, was in sharp contrast to the plight of the Third Estate. Masquerades and lavish balls, salon life, and dramatic presentations, made up a continuous round of pleasure and entertainment for almost 2,000 fortunate courtiers. The number of servants domiciled at Versailles approximated eight or nine times that number. The cost of this establishment to the nation was, as a consequence, enormous. To maintenance of the court must also be added the ever-increasing cost of pensions to royal favorites, of sinecures, and outright gifts to those in favor at the moment. Officials high and low were not averse to making the most of their offices, since they had generally made heavy investments in acquiring them.

A fourth governmental evil was that of wastefully collected and unjustly levied taxes. Inequality was the rule rather than the exception. Though there were numerous taxes, four of them warrant special consideration. The *taille* was a land tax, assessed twice annually by the Royal Council on real property in one section of France, and as a personal tax in other portions of the country. The tax fell most heavily upon the peasantry who, whether they owned the land or not, paid the levy out of the returns from their labor on the soil. Most infamous of the taxes during the *Ancien Régime* was the *gabelle,* or salt tax, which came into disfavor not because of the tax itself, but for the inequality with which it was levied throughout the kingdom. Unequal tax restrictions on so essential a commodity led to much smuggling; thousands were severely punished each year for infractions of the law. The *octroi* was a tax or internal tariff on country foodstuffs which was assessed when such goods were brought into a city. It is hardly necessary to point out that a tax of this nature handicapped local trade and fell most heavily on the consumer and small farmer. A last tax was the *corvée,* a labor tax, levied on the

peasantry for the upkeep of the roads and for the transportation of troops.

The collection of taxes was not in the hands of government officials. The administration, in a time of financial stringency, had begun the practice of anticipating its income from future taxes, by borrowing essential sums in advance of collections. To obtain better terms, the practice of farming out the tax collection job to a group of contractors, every six years, was begun. These financiers and speculators, numbering between forty and sixty, were known as the "Farmers General." The system was one which generally yielded a great profit to the "Farmers General," and resulted in a consequent loss of income to the government. That such methods would lead to abuses was inevitable and again the hardships fell most heavily upon the Third Estate. The clergy was of course exempt from taxation; but the exemption of the nobility from many of the more onerous duties was an intolerable abuse; the burden of maintaining an extravagant government fell on the shoulders of the productive middle and peasant classes.

A fifth governmental evil during the *Ancien Régime* is to be found in the maladministration of justice. Under Bourbon absolutism, the king was the source of all justice. Royal courts numbered into the hundreds and operated throughout the kingdom. The diffusion and multiplicity of these courts seem to have been due, in part, to the practice of selling such positions to the highest bidder. Once the post was acquired, it was considered family property which could be abolished only through repurchase by the government, a means seldom invoked by a government in perpetual need of additional funds. The *parlements* numbering a "baker's dozen," were courts of final jurisdiction in their particular districts. Lower courts included rural, urban, and district chambers without number. While their jurisdiction was of a general nature, further special tribunals for the adjudication of cases involving commercial, maritime, and financial law were in existence. In procedure, the judicial system was not only unwieldy and unjust, but often venal in its operation. Different legal systems were applied in north and south France further hindering the

attainment of justice. Other major faults of the judicial system were: inequality before the law, because of the different laws for each of the classes; second, the practice of arbitrarily imprisoning an individual with a *lettre de cachet,* which was a royal writ providing for an arbitrary arrest and indefinite imprisonment without trial. This writ was considered essential for the proper police of the country, yet it was used chiefly for the control of family matters by the upper classes. Advocates of family solidarity have claimed its usefulness in that field; on the whole, however, it made possible abuses which were inexcusable. A third judicial abuse was the practice of torture. France had not yet accepted the teachings of Beccaria, and torture was still applied as a regular part of the procedure in the examination of the accused. Capital punishment too, was cruelly administered, often for minor offenses. A fourth abuse has already been indicated; offices which were bought and paid for must of necessity yield an adequate return; hence, the venality of the judges was to be expected. Lucrative court fees came to be known as "spices."

The inefficiency of the centralized administrative bureaucracy was another important factor. The system which had been oiled to such smooth efficiency in the hands of Louis XIV had, with the passing years, become increasingly cumbersome. Without a farsighted leader in control of long-term policies, the system was disintegrating; that it lasted as long as it did, was due chiefly to the force of routine and precedent. The higher offices were reserved to the nobility; opportunities for the non-noble were sharply limited in the government service. There were also numbers of useless offices, granted generally to favorites as sinecures, a practice which not only cost enormous sums, but, at times, stood in the way of necessary fiscal reforms. Red tape and needless routine further hampered efficient administration of governmental functions. In the army, the commoner was barred from real advancement, for the command and the higher offices were reserved to the nobility. Under such a military organization, reform and improvement were well-nigh impossible. The tactics taught were out of date and the equipment used was obsolete.

EUROPE ON THE EVE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

It was by no means impossible for the commoner to attain noble rank during this period; the breach between Second and Third Estate was wide nevertheless. Nominally the noble lived on the income of his own, or ancestral, estate. Earlier attempts on the part of the monarchs or their ministers to curb the powers of isolated nobles had led to the transportation of such nobles to Versailles, where they could be kept out of mischief endangering the monarchy. Once life on a fine scale was achieved there, no desire existed on the noble's part to return to the dullness of the provinces. Absenteeism resulted, and demands for increased income on the part of the lord led to increased exactions upon the peasant laborers of his estates. This took the form of more oppressive collection of rents, the requirement of all the customary services permitted under the old manorial system, and the maintenance of hunting rights for the nobles. There seems to be fairly sound evidence to show that during the decades immediately preceding the Revolution there was something of a feudal reaction, while expressed itself in the forms mentioned. The exaction of hunting rights meant that the peasant's crops were not immune to destruction, should the noble's game lead him into the planted field. This intolerable abuse resulted in the voicing of innumerable complaints and much class hatred.

The nobility achieved its parasitic character in part through the development of absenteeism, which had been brought on by the national policy of centralization. One could become a noble through inheritance, by purchase, by filling particular governmental posts or by meritorious military endeavor. Even the nobility itself was divided into classes. There were first the Princes of the Blood and court followers. Next in rank were the country nobles, known as Nobles of the Robe. A third division was made up of administrative officials, like the Intendants. The lowest rank was known as the *hobereaux,* or "Sparrow Hawks." These were poor country nobles, often without any landed possessions.

The centralization of the government had practically deprived the greater part of the nobility of the exercise of the functions which formerly had justified their position in the feudal regime. In all,

there must have been about a quarter of a million persons of noble blood. That the number was as great was due to the fact that each child of a French nobleman was noble. It might well be noted then, that the law of primogeniture was not followed in France as it was in England. A further factor in the development of the vain, frivolous, extravagant, and parasitic character of the noble class was the fact that while they could sell the products of their estates, they were forbidden, on pain of losing caste, to enter any trading or commercial pursuits. As a consequence, the son of a noble had to enter one or another of the following professions: the military, the clerical, the legal or the administrative service of the government. An illustration of the tenacity with which the nobility held to the higher offices in the realm is that, of the thirty-six ministers in the fifteen years preceding 1789, only Necker was a commoner.

The First Estate was composed of the clergy, and the church corporation was the most powerful in all France. This class constituted less than one per cent of the French population. Even this small group was divided into three major divisions, the highest and least numerous of which was the upper clergy. This wealthy group was so inclined to idleness and ostentation, that it materially reduced the effectiveness of the more sincere laborers within the fold of the church. A second, and five or six times larger group, was the lower clergy. They were grossly underpaid and inadequately financed for the work they were performing. It is not strange, therefore, that representatives of this class sided with the Third Estate in the early days of the National Constituent Assembly. The third clerical division, equal in numbers to the second, was the regular clergy, made up of monks and nuns in the various orders. In total wealth, this last group was the most affluent. The various orders possessed enormous landholdings which were tax free since the church was considered civilly dead. However, at approximately five-year intervals the church did meet in general assembly to vote a freewill gift to the government. It is pertinent to note that most of the one hundred and thirty odd Bishops during this period came from the noble ranks.

This serves to indicate that high office, in church, as well as in army, or government, was reserved for members of the Second Estate.

The fountain head of French economic philosophy was the mercantilistic system. The nation's policy was decidedly paternalistic. The government salt and tobacco monopolies, though productive of considerable revenue, were restrictions on trade. Wheat and bread prices were regulated by the administration with ill effect. France was divided into three major customs districts. The twelve provinces about Paris were called the "Five Great Farms." Inside this area, trade was little hampered by tariffs. In a second district surrounding the first, goods moved from one province to the next, only on the payment of a tax, and from one customs district to another, only on the payment of duty. Certain other areas acquired after 1664 received the same tariff treatment as foreign nations. These restrictions on trade and commerce were extremely harmful to business interests in general. While some attempts were made in the years immediately preceding the Revolution, to break up the restrictive features of the gild system, the attempts at reform came too late to be entirely effective. The heavy tax burden on the mercantile and industrial classes has already been noted. They were not given an opportunity in return, to voice their views concerning the conduct of the government. Here was just cause for complaint, and one reason why the French Revolution developed into an essentially middle class uprising. It can be said that the underlying cause of the Revolution was a social order that repressed the natural expression of a great people.

It is not easy to measure the effect of the writings of such men as Voltaire, Montesquieu, Diderot, Rousseau, the Encyclopedists, and the Physiocrats on the French mind. These precursors of the Revolution do seem to have prepared the French people for reforms greater than they had originally intended. To what extent the American Revolution influenced French revolutionary opinion is a debatable question. Thinking Frenchmen declared that France was not America, that conditions and problems were different; of course they were, yet some spark of democratic hope seems to have been transferred to French shores from the New World. This much is not

speculative however. French participation in the American Revolution did hasten eventual national bankruptcy in France. This resulted in the calling of the Estates-General for May, 1789, which in turn, ushered in the French Revolution.

XIV

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION UNTIL THE END OF 1790

The prodigious quantity of research and literary endeavor which has been expended upon the larger revolutionary period (1789-1815) is well illustrated by the bibliographical compilation of the eminent Napoleonic scholar, Friederich M. Kircheisen. His list includes some 100,000 titles of works dealing with the Napoleonic period alone. The significance of the Revolution to France is that it transformed an absolute monarchy, encumbered with numerous medieval institutions, into a constitutional democracy, in which feudal institutions were eliminated and those of a modern *bourgeois* republic established. The militant and apostolic nature of revolutionary ideals resulted in their spread throughout much of Europe. The task of completing the dissemination of French Revolutionary principles and republican ideals was accomplished by Napoleon Bonaparte, who, though he moderated some of the reforms, spread them over a much wider area. The wars, which were a natural consequence of this attempt to extend revolutionary concepts to the absolute monarchies of Europe, were to involve all Europe in a struggle from 1792 till 1815. So wide was the scope of the conflict that, ultimately, the United States of America was drawn into the wars.

Although opportunity was afforded, Louis XV did not become a member of that group of benevolent despots who attempted of their own volition to bring about reforms. With his passing in 1774, he left to his grandson and successor a record of incompetence in government, of progressive financial prodigality, and a series of discouraging military defeats. The handicap was much too great for Louis XVI. The entrenched privileged classes, headed by the king himself, were to make impossible the desired reforms by any means short of revolutionary measures. Had Louis XVI been

possessed of superlative administrative abilities, had he possessed the power of sustained mental effort, it is conceivable that something of a constructive nature might have been accomplished by peaceful means. With each passing year of his reign, force became the most practical and satisfactory solution to an intolerable situation.

The old thesis that the Revolution was cataclysmic in nature has been discarded. The whole period is characterized by the fact that the Revolution was at all times a *bourgeois* movement. It did not begin with or come under the control of the masses. The period from 1789 till 1795 may be divided into two major phases: that preceding and that following the abortive flight of the king to Varennes.

During the first phase, the Revolution was based on conservative principles and led by moderate men. In this period, such men as Mirabeau and Lafayette were exponents of constitutional monarchy. The Revolution did not break when conditions in France were at their worst. There is abundant reason to believe that economic conditions were improving, during the decade before 1789, but the rate of improvement was not sufficiently rapid. There is some evidence to indicate the existence of what might be termed a feudal reaction against liberal reforms during this same period, the result of which was merely to hasten the outbreak of the Revolution. The abortive attempt of the royal family to flee France initiated a second and more radical phase of the Revolution. During this period, republican and democratic ideals were predominant, and it was during this stage of the Revolution that excesses took place.

The immediate cause of the Revolution was the imminent bankruptcy of the national government. The situation had been provoked by a century of governmental prodigality and fiscal mismanagement. There had been an attempt during the Regency of Louis XV (1715-1723) to liquidate the public debt. The plan was born in the fertile brain of the Scotch adventurer and banker, John Law. His private bank became the National Bank in 1718, and began the issuance of enormous quantities of bank notes, which for the time being, found ready acceptance. Law's plan had other ramifications of a private nature which, enmeshed with the governmental bank, brought on a

financial collapse, known as the "Mississippi Bubble." In 1717, he organized the Company of the West for the exploitation of the Mississippi Valley. The inflated national currency made possible a wild orgy of speculation in the stocks of the enterprise; when, in 1720, the dangers to the government were realized, Law was made counselor of state and controller of finances to ward off impending disaster. With the bursting of the "bubble," Law fled from France, but the nation was left saddled with an even larger public debt than before the beginning of his fiscal experiments. The wars of the eighteenth century, in which France was generally involved, resulted in both military victories and defeats; in either case, the public debt was materially increased. The loss of the major part of her colonial domain in 1763 cut off France's supply of raw materials, vitally affected her mercantilistic economic setup, and was most humiliating to her national prestige. The loss of her colonies had wider implications, however, for it made possible the supremacy of Great Britain upon the sea, a deciding factor in the long struggle between Napoleon and England. The extravagances of the court at Versailles have already been detailed, as has the wasteful system utilized in the collection of inequitably levied taxes. The exemptions of the clergy and nobility from the major portion of the tax burden limited the sources of income for the retirement of the public debt. Archaic restrictions upon commerce and industry further crippled the economic development of the nation. Paradoxically, the middle class was advancing in a material way despite such restrictions, and their complaint was chiefly that progress was being obstructed. Finally, the nature of the ruling family contributed materially to the imminent bankruptcy of the nation. Louis XVI had an unenviable heritage from his predecessor, to say the least. His inability to deal in a forthright manner with the exigencies of the situation led him ultimately to the guillotine. The king was a well-meaning, kind-hearted, trusting type of individual, whose indolence and distaste for the administrative problems of his government allowed conditions to grow from bad to worse. He was a good locksmith, but a poor guardian of the treasury. His queen, Marie Antoinette, was known

to the French people as "The Austrian." She was possessed of many of those mental powers which the king lacked, but, in her private as well as in her public life, she was almost devoid of discretion and a conception of the realities of her position.

That the abuses were great is unquestionable; there were, however, numerous attempts to reform the French fiscal system. Mention already has been made of John Law's experiment. Louis XVI chose as his controller-general, an administrator who had made an enviable record as *Intendant* of Limoges. Turgot (1774-1776) attempted a series of reforms, chiefly financial in nature. Early in his administration, the king, playing for popular approval, had against Turgot's wishes, re-established the thirteen *parlements* which had been abolished by Louis XV. This measure gave strong support to the forces opposing reform and was to make the *parlements* the rallying points of the reactionary element in the French nation. Turgot's financial policy was characterized by strict retrenchment; his slogan was "no bankruptcies, no new taxes, and no loans." While his achievements on this score were gratifying, the king failed to co-operate by reducing expenditures for pensions, gifts, or court maintenance. The new minister's first reform edict was issued in the fall of 1774; it abolished governmental regulation of the grain trade, allowing free inter-provincial commerce in that commodity. The scheme failed because of a crop shortage and the opposition of speculators who forced a rise in the price to such a level that the fear of famine necessitated a change of policy. Turgot also established a Bank of Discount, and, in 1776, two other reforms were consummated, but they were the last which Turgot was permitted to inaugurate. They were the abolition of the hated *corvée,* the burdensome labor tax for road construction and maintenance, and the disbanding of the gilds. With such measures, Turgot earned the hostility of the privileged classes and the queen in particular. His further plans for the creation of local elective assemblies and a national assembly the king himself opposed and the queen was able to prevail upon her husband to dismiss the

minister. In the reaction which followed, the reforms were set aside and the gilds re-established.

Within a short while, the king summoned Necker, the best known banker of the period, a Genevan and a Protestant, as director-general of finance. He was a strange personality who, in spite of his idiosyncrasies, possessed remarkable financial acumen. The nation's fiscal stringency forced immediate adoption of a loan policy and curtailment of governmental expenditures. His task was complicated by the entry of France into the struggle of the thirteen American colonies against Great Britain. Although the war was a success in its military outcome, it served merely to hasten national bankruptcy. The director-general then turned to reform of the machinery of government in order to effect economy in administration. By centralized governmental collection of certain taxes, by the improvement of the system of national accounts, by the flotation of lotteries, and of numerous new loans, he was able to improve the credit of the government, and to enhance his own fame. His fiscal policies were far from sound however, for they actually served to increase the pace the nation was traveling towards disaster. Serfdom was abolished on the royal lands, and the use of torture was restricted in some forms of judicial procedure to attest his humanitarian interests. He proposed further, the extension of representative forms to certain of the provinces and established several provincial assemblies. Opponents of his sundry reforms caused him to have printed and distributed, in his own defense, the *Compte rendu au roi.* This was an extraordinary financial statement which credited the director-general with a balance in the treasury, but went further, in that it showed clearly how tremendous was the cost of the royal court and its attendant courtiers to the nation. Publicity of this nature was so aggravating to recipients of royal favor that they attacked Necker with redoubled vehemence. Denial of his request for full ministerial rank as controller-general served as an excuse for his resignation (1781). The nation's financial problem was left in as tangled a condition as ever before.

For two years (1781-1783) various ministers attempted sundry

solutions of the problem without success. Calonne was called to this thankless task in the late fall of 1783. He possessed a record as capable administrator and *intendant.* Calonne was well aware of the fact that the wealthy had lost their confidence in the ability of the government to weather the financial storm which had so long been brewing. He was fully cognizant of the fact that the future income of the nation was already pledged, and that the government vaults were bare. Despite these discouraging facts, he outlined, and entered upon a program by which it was hoped faith would be restored in the eventual successful solution of the fiscal problem confronting the kingdom. To accomplish this end, he expanded the government's credit by floating heavy loans. With some of the money acquired in this manner, he silenced opposition, concealed the real status of the monetary problem, liquidated a portion of the public debt, and began the construction of a vast number of public works projects. The period of inflation generated by this policy lasted until 1786, when the inevitable reaction began. In some respects, Calonne's plan was to spend the nation out of impending bankruptcy. After exhausting numerous stop-gap expedients, he presented a comprehensive reform program which the king reluctantly agreed to submit to an Assembly of Notables.

This body came together during February, 1787. The membership consisted of 144 delegates from the First and Second Estates. This group of privileged representatives of the upper classes was not inclined to accept any diminution of its rights under the old order as suggested by the controller-general. Calonne's plan proposed the establishment of provincial assemblies, the elimination of internal customs, the abolition of the *corvée,* the revision of the *taille* and the *gabelle,* the establishment of a state bank, and the levy of a land tax which would fall upon all three estates. The refusal of the Assembly of Notables to adhere to such a comprehensive program of reform brought about Calonne's dismissal and flight to England. The chief importance of the assembly is to be found in the publicity which its deliberations gave to the faults in the French fiscal system.

Calonne's successor, Brienne, soon became an advocate of the very

reforms Calonne had proposed. His suggestions, too, met with the firm opposition of the Assembly of Notables, so, in May, 1787, the king dissolved that body. Brienne had clear alternatives; he might obtain the support of the *parlements* for his reform measures or he could ask the king to summon a meeting of the Estates-General which had last met in 1614. The king abruptly refused to adopt the latter suggestion, and, when Brienne approached the *parlements,* they took the position that no body except the Estates-General could give the consent necessary for new taxes. This amounted to a declaration that there could be no taxation without representation. This principle was to become the rallying point of those opposed to absolutism and the old order. Continued opposition to the government eventually forced the king to yield. He issued edicts during July and August, 1788, calling the Estates-General to meet on May 1, 1789. When, in August, 1788, Brienne suspended treasury payments, he was forced to resign; Necker was recalled as director-general and given the rank of minister of state. Popular confidence in his ability to cope with the financial crisis served to support the government until the spring of 1789.

The Estates-General had been formed in the early fourteenth century by the introduction of certain urban representative elements into the *Curia Regis,* thus laying a foundation for the division of the whole into the three estates. There were hardly more than a score of meetings, before 1614, in which all the estates were represented. In that year, Cardinal Richelieu permitted the institution to lapse into desuetude; it was not called thereafter until the meeting ordered for May, 1789.

Some mention has already been made of the *Philosophes.* If nothing more, they were publicists, who had created a public sounding board. In an attempt to influence opinion, men in all walks of life deluged Paris with a storm of pamphlet literature during the years 1787-1789. This provocative reading matter dealt especially with the problems of representation, a written constitution, judicial reform, and feudal survivals. The authors were usually anonymous, because of the strict censorship. Out of this prodigious mass of literature

only three lines are well known today. These are the queries and answers of Abbé Sieyès:

"What is the Third Estate? Everything.
What has it been hitherto in the political order? Nothing.
What does it ask? To become something."

Early in 1789, the king invited all Frenchmen to elect representatives to the Estates-General and to send with them detailed instructions as to what they wished accomplished at Versailles.

The Estates-General was called upon to do more than legislate; it was to determine and establish certain principles and institutions of government. Each of the three orders held separate elections in each of the many districts of France. The First and Second Estates elected their delegates in the primary assemblies, while the Third Estate chose its delegates indirectly by several successive assemblies. At the primary district electoral meetings, petitions and remonstrances were compiled to determine the people's wishes and to outline the necessary instructions to the deputies. These petitions and remonstrances were known as the *Cahiers*. The *Cahiers* of the First Estate were often colored by the views of the lower clergy who formed a majority in the electoral meetings. The *Cahiers* of the Second Estate came almost directly from the persons concerned; those of the Third Estate passed through several intermediate electoral assemblies and cannot be classed as primary *Cahiers*. They varied greatly in content; the grievances of the rural districts usually related to feudal exactions; those of the urban districts, to political and social reforms. In the main, the *Cahiers* agreed on several propositions and demonstrated the conservatism still prevalent in France. They generally held that France should remain monarchial in its government, with the royal inheritance through the male line; that only the Estates-General could legally vote taxes; and that the legislative power should be vested jointly in the king and the Estates-General. What this really meant was that the people desired a constitutional monarchy, with some degree of popular representation. While the *Cahiers* generally agreed that property was a sacred thing, they demanded that special

privileges be abolished. When, however, privilege was a form of property, there was bound to be dissension.

The most difficult problem awaiting solution was that relating to representation within the Estates-General. It had been conceded that the Third Estate should have double representation, that is, as many delegates as the other two estates put together. The inability of the king to determine whether the three estates should vote by head in one body, or separately by estates, was the blunder which brought on the actual Revolution. The Third Estate insisted that all the delegates meet as one body and vote *par tête* (by head), but the king and the other two estates declined to accede to this viewpoint.

By May 1, 1789, most of the 1700 delegates and the alternates had been elected and were in Versailles. The king received them formally on the following day; the Estates-General officially was opened on May 4, with the saying of mass. The opening session was held on May 5, when, after a tardy entry, the king delivered a brief address in which he announced that he would permit voting by head on financial matters. On political questions, however, the deputies were ordered to vote by estates, that is, in three separate bodies. Necker read an exceedingly long speech which straddled most issues. At its close, his secretary called on the delegates separately to verify their credentials. The Third Estate refused, since such action amounted to a denial of their intention to write a new constitution for the realm. The matter was postponed and for nearly five weeks affairs were deadlocked, since the Third Estate refused to verify their credentials except in a single group with the other two estates. During this interim, Mirabeau, a constitutional monarchist, suggested that the lower clergy be urged to join the Third Estate. On June 12, on the Abbé Sieyès' initiative and in direct defiance of Louis XVI, the members of the Third Estate began to verify, not as deputies of that estate, but as deputies of the nation. In the days which followed, members of the lower clergy joined them. When, on June 17, they adopted the name, National Assembly, it began to function as the nation's legislative organ. This action may be considered as marking the beginning of the French Revolution.

It must be kept in mind that the Third Estate, which had formed the National Assembly, represented about nineteen-twentieths of the French population and that the name was, therefore, appropriate. Two days later (June 19), the clergy as a group voted to join the National Assembly.

In an attempt to frustrate trends which appeared to be divesting him of much of his authority, the king announced that a "Royal Session" would be held on June 22, in which he promised to outline the royal policy of reform. On June 20, the members of the National Assembly found the hall in which their meetings were held, closed, ostensibly in preparation for the "Royal Session." They retired to an indoor tennis court close by, where, on the suggestion of Mounier, an oath was taken not to disband until a constitution had been drawn up and put into effect. The taking of the oath, while a dramatic incident, was of no great historical significance, for the initial step in the revolutionary movement had been taken when the rebellious Third Estate announced the formation of the National Assembly (June 17).

The "Royal Session" was postponed until June 23. A "Royal Session" may be compared in parliamentary procedure, with the *"Lit de Justice"* in judicial procedure. The king planned to come before the deputies to tell them what his plans were and what he expected them to do. Under the absolutist theory of government, the representatives would be bound to defer to his wishes. The court party, led by the queen and the king's brother, the Count of Artois, urged the sovereign to take strong measures to control the situation. Necker, however, proposed a conciliatory plan. The king compromised by threats of force if his suggestions were not accepted. In his speech to the deputies, in the "Royal Session" of June 23, the king ignored what had already taken place by stating that he wished the three estates to remain separate and distinct. He conceded that certain items might well be discussed by the deputies in joint session, but he absolutely forbade the consideration of questions of a constitutional nature in any except separate meetings. The king's program of reforms advocated: (1) the granting of numerous financial powers

to the Estates-General, (2) the elimination of the worst financial and feudal abuses, (3) the equitable taxation of all classes, (4) respect for all property rights, (5) the establishment of provincial legislatures, and (6) the guarantee of personal liberties. This was certainly not reactionary when compared with the old order. Louis XVI was offering some very real concessions. The king, however, closed his speech with a threat to disband the fractious deputies and to carry out the plan himself if it was not accepted. The offer of reform came too late. The majority of the nobles and the clergy followed the king when he left the hall, but the commoners remained. When they were ordered to disband by the Master of Ceremonies, Mirabeau is credited with replying in effect that they had been sent by the will of the people and could be prorogued only by force. The king chose to condone such strong language; he ordered the guards to leave the hall and, for several days, appeared to have accepted the revolution as an accomplished fact. This seems to be demonstrated by the fact that, on June 27, he ordered the remaining deputies of the two upper estates to join the National Assembly. The end of the Estates-General had been achieved; the Third Estate had emerged victorious and the National Assembly had begun its work.

One event followed another during the following months. The revolutionary fervor was approaching the high pitch it was to attain during the days of the Terror. On July 9, 1789, the National Assembly adopted a new name and was from that date known as the National Constituent Assembly, to indicate that it was to be both a legislative and a constitutional body. There was a great deal of constructive reform which the people of France could expect from the labors of the assembly, especially if it was to be sustained in its acts by Louis XVI. The king, however, ordered 20,000 mercenaries to Versailles, ostensibly to protect the assembly from the Parisian populace, but actually to force its dissolution. This troop mobilization began in early July. At the same time, the maintenance of order became too great a problem for the municipal authorities of Paris. Mirabeau proposed that the assembly send a deputation to the king to

protest the concentration of troops and to ask instead the formation of a *bourgeois* guard. The king facetiously replied by suggesting the removal of the assembly to some more distant place if its members feared the troops then in Versailles.

This gave the liberals in the assembly an inkling of the king's intentions so that when he dismissed the liberal Necker and replaced his ministry with a conservative group, the action was accepted as a challenge (July 11). Popular excitement was fanned to a high pitch, when news of Necker's dismissal reached Paris. Camille Desmoulins called the crowds in the Palais Royal to arms. All day and through the night of July 12, the mob marched through the city. By the following day, the former electors, chiefly propertied and business men, had organized a *bourgeois* guard for the maintenance of order. When a rumor circulated that arms were available in the *Hôtel des Invalides,* it was sacked; another mob moved on the Bastille. This old fortress was used as a state prison and was symbolic of all that was despotic. By accident, the mob succeeded in taking the stronghold. The significance of July 14, and the capture of the Bastille lies chiefly in the fact that this action of the Paris mob checked the king in his scheme for eliminating the assembly. The king ordered the troops from the vicinity of Paris (July 15) and the militia organization, so hastily established during the days of rioting, was recognized as a National Guard. Necker again was made minister on July 16 and on July 17 the king donned the tri-colored cockade to indicate his acceptance of the new order. Members of the court party, led by the Count of Artois, looked on the king's acquiescence in the new order as little short of cowardice. For their own safety, members of the court party began what was to be a long series of emigrations. Henceforth, lands bordering France were to be peopled for over twenty years by small bands of these *émigrés.*

While a Paris mob was attacking the Bastille, the Provinces were not quiescent. Famine and fear of what might or might not be done at Versailles gave rise to what has been called the "Great Fear." During the late summer of 1789, peasants in the country districts rose up against their manorial lords, burning chateaux to

destroy records and indulging in brigandage and willful destruction of life and property. Local officials had not the means to cope with this rampant terrorism. The towns and cities, too, had their attacks on local bastilles; their municipal governments were reconstructed, local National Guard units formed, and eventually order was restored. The towns then used the guard to subdue the rioting peasantry. The Revolution had become more than a demand for constitutional government; it was rapidly degenerating into class war.

The news of such violent insurrectionary activity came as a considerable shock to the deputies deliberating at Versailles. Some proposed that the peasants be suppressed with iron-handed measures, but, on August 4, the chief cause for peasant revolt was removed when the nobles rose in the assembly one by one to renounce their privileges. They were followed in this respect by the clergy and the rich *bourgeoisie.* This date marks the end of the *Ancien Régime.* The decrees incorporating these concessions became law a week later. Actually, the "August Decrees" were more a program of reform than actual reform. It was the function of the assembly to make the decrees effective.

The National Constituent Assembly voted to accept the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen" on August 27, 1789. This was, in most respects, a *bourgeois* document, which announced that certain rights belonged to men, because they were men and not because any government had granted those rights. Many of the ideas included were the common aspirations of liberals in England, France, and America. It was not an original document, but a synthesis involving numerous compromises. The declaration appealed to the French masses, but when its principles were translated into action in the constitution, the commoners were to be disappointed. The declaration has had a wide influence on liberal thought in Europe. It states that all men possess equal rights; that the purpose of government is to preserve the natural rights of liberty, security, property, and freedom from oppression. A government should receive its power from the people, whose general will should be expressed, through representative machinery, in the law of the land. Men should

be free from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment and be presumed innocent until proved guilty. Men must be free to express opinions on any subject, including religion, within the bounds of a legally established public order. Taxes to support a governmental power to enforce such laws should be assessed equally on all citizens according to their respective means, and public officials should be held accountable for their actions.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen did not receive the full support of the king. On September 14, 1789, he called the Flanders Regiment to Versailles. Again, his nominal aim was to protect the assembly from the Parisian populace which was again restless. An officers' ball, honoring the king, was held at Versailles on October 1. At this affair no toasts were drunk to the nation and, what seemed more serious, the national cockade was trampled upon. News of this outrage reached Paris on October 3; it was the spark necessary to set off the famous "October Days." A mob sacked the *Hôtel de Ville,* and, under the guidance of one Maillard, was led off to Versailles, to demand guarantees from the king that Paris would have bread. The crowd contained many lusty market women. News of the approaching amazons reached the assembly and it decided to send a deputation to the king. That evening (October 5) the king agreed to the constitutional decrees. Lafayette, who headed the National Guard, arrived in the meantime and took over the task of maintaining order. A guard was thrown about the palace and the night passed quietly. Early in the morning, a few members of the mob found an unguarded entrance and began milling about inside the palace. When detected by a guard they were fired on; in the panic which followed, the queen barely escaped with her life. To quiet the mob, the king agreed to bring the royal family before them. The king was applauded by the crowd, but a louder cry of the mob was "on to Paris." Eventually, the king agreed; that night, Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette, and the Dauphin reached the Louvre. Parisians referred to them as "the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's son," whose presence in the city, they

hoped, would be a guarantee against famine. On October 16, the assembly followed the king to Paris.

The outstanding leader in the National Constituent Assembly during this period was Mirabeau. He had spent the greater part of his adult life in the custody of jailers. Almost a dozen *lettres de cachet* had been issued against him as punishments for sundry escapades, or to prevent him from further disgracing his family. These many years of confinement had afforded him the opportunity to read, to think, and to write about those subjects which were eventually to place him in the rôle of a moderate politician and statesman. Before the calling of the Estates-General, he had expressed himself as a proponent of: (1) the abolition of feudalism, (2) religious toleration, (3) civil equality, (4) sound governmental finances, (5) nationalized secular education, (6) a limited monarchy with representative institutions, and (7) freedom of manufactures and trade. Though a powerful orator, his reputation robbed him of supporters. His rôle had to be that of a prompter, never that of a party leader. His efforts in behalf of a constitutional monarchy were so great for one with his manner of life that he died in April, 1791. He had attempted an alliance with Lafayette, but the general distrusted him and nothing worthwhile came of the effort. Mirabeau then gained an alliance with the king, receiving pay for advice which was more honored in the breach than in the observance. With the death of Mirabeau, the last restraint upon the king was gone, and, a few weeks later, the royal family attempted to escape France, thus bringing on the second and harsher phase of the Revolution. If any one man could have warded off the excesses which resulted, it would undoubtedly have been Mirabeau.

The assembly had begun work on a constitution for France in July, 1789. This first written constitution of the nation has been variously called that of 1789, 1790, and 1791. The latter date seems the most proper. Although the declaration was adopted in 1789, and numerous edicts were promulgated in each of the years mentioned, the whole was perfected, codified, and placed in a single document which the king accepted on September 3, 1791. It will

be recalled that the *Cahiers* had not asked for anything more radical than a constitutional monarchy. The assembly made short shrift of all suggestions that a republic be formed. Moderate views prevailed so that the document established a constitutional monarchy in which the chief principle was that power resides in the people, who delegate it to representatives and to the king. The constitution provided for a legislative assembly whose members were to be chosen indirectly by qualified citizens. Frenchmen were to be either active or passive citizens; the former were designated as twenty-five-year-old males, paying an annual direct tax equal to three days' wages or more. The ratio of active to passive citizens was as four to three. Thus, three-sevenths of the male citizens of twenty-five years or more were denied the franchise. Every 100 active citizens were permitted to choose an elector from those among them paying an annual direct tax of not less than the equivalent of 150 days' wages. The electors then chose the deputies, who were to sit in the legislature, and the judges. While there was no property qualification for the deputies, it was expected that the well-to-do electors would choose men who thought as they did.[6] Hence it will be seen that this constitution was a decidedly *bourgeois* document. Such restrictions on the franchise seem hardly in keeping with the profession of equality and the declaration of rights which formed the introductory part of the constitution itself. While the constitution took from the king his power to make laws, it gave him a suspensive veto, empowering him to delay the enactment of a law for a considerable period of time. A further constitutional reform provided for the formation of eighty-three departments from the thirty-two provinces of France. This, in form, meant almost excessive decentralization of the administrative system. The departments were divided into *arrondissements,* which were in turn subdivided into *cantons, communes,* and municipalities. France still adheres to these governmental subdivisions. The legislative committees governed local affairs as minutely as ever had been the case under the *Ancien Régime.* Such practices were continued, not under the constitution,

[6] For a time, the one silver mark payment was prescribed.

but in spite of it and this must be assigned as a major cause for the short-lived existence of that document.

The financial condition of the government became steadily worse during the summer of 1789. The taxes of the old order had been abolished and three new ones levied in their place. These new taxes were a land tax, a personal property tax, and a tax on the revenues from trade and manufacturing. Taxpayers were lax in making this payment and the government's income was exceedingly meager. Necker again was forced to resort to his old methods of bank loans and unsuccessful public bond issues. In October, Talleyrand, who had become the Bishop of Autun that very year, proposed the confiscation of the property of the church for the reduction of the public debt. It was argued that the church was a corporate organization, holding lands in trust for the performance of certain services; if the state assumed the tasks of educating the young, caring for the poor, and providing the means of public worship, it could, with justification, expropriate the church lands. The assembly voted to confiscate church property on November 2, 1789; in mid-December, some of it was indirectly offered for sale by the issue of *assignats,* really treasury bonds, redeemable in church lands rather than in currency. The experiment was not successful and, as further guarantee that the state would back up its *assignats,* they were practically made legal tender (April 17, 1790). Two days later, the nation took over actual control of the church lands. From time to time, laws limiting the total issue of *assignats* were passed, but the tendency was to expand the volume to unheard of amounts. Continued inflation of the currency led to a decline in the value of the *assignats,* so that by 1796 they were virtually worthless.

There had been many acts of the National Constituent Assembly which displeased the king. Of all the measures which Louis XVI opposed, that which sequestered the church property was most obnoxious to him. He was, without question, a devout man and an act of this nature was so contrary to the dictates of his conscience that he could not further support the Revolution.

XV

THE REVOLUTION: 1791-1795

In 1791, numbers of Frenchmen believed that the adoption of a new constitution and the establishment of a constitutional monarchy marked the end of the Revolution. They hoped that business, social, and cultural life might be resumed without further interruption, but an established order under the constitution was short-lived for it lasted only until September 20, 1792. The Revolution had merely begun, for, aside from the dissatisfaction of the lower classes with the constitution, there was a great deal of economic distress which had not been alleviated by the Revolution but, in some cases, had been aggravated. The constitution had not provided for the outright abolition of all feudal dues, but had stipulated that some of the peasants' obligations would have to be liquidated by them. The manner in which this was to be done caused much hardship; the question arose whether the new way of life was better than the old. All this led to considerable insurrectionary activity on the part of the peasantry. They began to rise against their former masters and the continuance of these upheavals resulted in much pillage and loss of life. The ambition of many a poor peasant to acquire a patch of land on which he might sustain his family, through the distribution of the church lands, was not realized. The National Constituent Assembly had been sorely in need of funds; instead of providing the poor and landless with small farms, the church lands were in most instances sold to those persons with a cash surplus for investment in such property. Out of this developed an agrarian unemployment problem which accentuated unrest.

During the early months of 1791, there had been something of a commercial revival, because of the removal of restrictions on internal trade, the abolition of the gilds, and the desire of many to exchange their *assignats* for commodities. Nevertheless, increased unemploy-

ment, both rural and urban, the decline in the value of the *assignats,* and demands of laborers for wage increases rather than the reductions they had been forced to accept, brought on an economic crisis. Food prices soared; of all causes for unrest, this was most potent. The French laborer, who, according to the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, was the equal of any, could certainly find reason to question such doctrines when he and his family had insufficient food. So, as has always been the case, a hungry people became a dissatisfied people and revolutionary activity increased apace.

So great was the king's personal opposition to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy that he was forced to act in his own behalf. While the noble *émigrés* had been leaving the country, the queen had planned various ways of escaping France. The restraining influence of Mirabeau was no longer there to hinder such schemes. There were numerous projects for foreign intervention as well, a practice wholly in keeping with the spirit of international custom at the time. The *émigrés,* chiefly located in the small German states on the French frontier, appealed openly to the monarchs of Europe to intervene in France. Such requests were, however, generally more for their own advancement than for the benefit of Louis XVI. That the king understood the motives of the *émigrés* is illustrated by the fact that both he and the queen found it necessary to disavow the activities of his two brothers, Condé and Artois. Louis XVI hoped for a different type of foreign intervention, a mere show of force on the French border. In the meantime, the queen was in regular correspondence with her brother, Leopold II of Austria. Her urgent appeals for aid were put aside because other problems at that moment made such an enterprise foolhardy. By the summer of 1790, differences between Austria and Prussia were removed, but a Polish crisis arose. Catherine the Great of Russia was definitely planning a second partition of Poland. She urged Leopold to intervene in France, to give her the opportunity to carry out her Polish schemes undisturbed. Leopold, fully aware of her plans, declined to walk into the trap. Frederick William II of Prussia would willingly

have intervened in France had Austria joined with him, but since Leopold opposed the scheme nothing was done.

Louis XVI eventually decided that his last resource lay in flight. Although his preparations were made in secrecy, information concerning his plans leaked out. The intention of the royal family to spend the Easter holidays of 1791 at St. Cloud was frustrated, when a Parisian crowd and the National Guard turned the regal carriages back to the Tuileries. This flight had been variously interpreted; some hold that the king really tried to flee; others, that he wished to have the services of a non-juring priest, while still others insist that the king merely wished to demonstrate to France and to the world that he was being kept a virtual prisoner in his own palace. During the following month, at a secret meeting in Mantua, Austria, Spain, Prussia, and a few lesser German states agreed to come to the aid of the French dynasty.

More elaborate flight plans were now devised and the arrangements were completed by June 20. One of the loyal generals had agreed to furnish a cavalry escort for the royal carriage to the Luxemburg border, but the suspicions this cavalry troop aroused forced it to take to a side road where it failed to meet the king. The royal coach moved slowly and, although its occupants were recognized by a number of people, only one dared to give the alarm. This resulted in the detention of the whole party at Varennes, where, on the morning of June 21, orders arrived for the arrest of the king.

The coach with its royal occupants returned to Paris through angry mobs, often on the point of committing violence. By June 24, the king and his family were again within the Tuileries, but now the situation of the Bourbons had become extremely precarious. The king had presumed that his plans would be successfully consummated and had left, as a communication to the nation, a declaration of his reasons for opposition to the constitution, an attack on coercive measures, and an expression of chagrin at the insults he and the queen had been forced to endure.

The National Constituent Assembly suspended the king on June 25, but, in mid-July, as a face-saving measure, the king was absolved of all responsibility for the flight. The assembly provided that he would be restored as the constitutional king as soon as he accepted the revised constitution. This he did on September 14, 1791, about two weeks before the first meeting of the new Legislative Assembly. About the same time as the suspension of the king, the Cordelier Club, led by Danton, demanded that the king be brought to trial and suggested the establishment of a republic. On July 17, two supposed spies were lynched by a mob assembled at the *Champ-de-Mars,* where signatures to a petition were being signed. This act necessitated direct action on the assembly's part, and Lafayette was ordered to establish martial law in Paris. When a number of soldiers were stoned and General Lafayette fired upon, the troops fired into the mob. This massacre of the *Champ-de-Mars* resulted in the temporary exile of Danton and marked the commencement of renewed bloodshed. It resulted also in the formation of a new political faction which will be treated in another connection.

Bourbon efforts to obtain foreign intervention eventually were partially successful. On August 27, 1791, Leopold of Austria and Frederick William of Prussia jointly issued the famous Declaration of Pilnitz. It announced that the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty in France was of common interest to all the nations of Europe and suggested co-operation for the attainment of that objective. Prussia and Austria had already agreed to an offensive and defensive alliance a month prior to this declaration. The Declaration of Pilnitz was an announcement to the world that Austria and Prussia would not move against France unless supported by the rest of Europe.

Mention has been made of the Cordelier Club. There were numerous organizations of this nature, most important of which was the Jacobin Club, known originally as the Society of Friends of the Constitution. Their more popular name, Jacobin, resulted from the fact that their meeting place was the former home of a Jacobin convent. In its original form, only leftist, that is radical, deputies were its members. Affiliated clubs were organized in the provinces

until they numbered nearly 500. The Jacobin meetings became a clearing house for petitions, demands, proposed laws, and schemes of all sorts. When the society voted to support a measure, its members in the assembly sponsored it. Until 1791, the club was conservative in policy; its chief service was to maintain a watchful eye on the activities of the assembly. The Cordeliers, too, were named because their meeting place was in a former convent of that order. Their fees were lower than those of the Jacobins; their consideration of measures and men less deliberate. Perhaps the most colorful of its members were Jean Marat, Camille Desmoulins, and Danton. There were numerous other revolutionary clubs, but these two were the most influential and powerful.

Of the revolutionary journals, Jean Marat's *Ami du peuple* was outstanding. The editor was a disgruntled physician, a pseudo-scientist with a remarkable sense of the dramatic and the ability to control the masses by his pen. The title of his paper was changed from time to time because of his fear of retribution from those whom he denounced and because, at times, the editor was forced to flee the wrath of the government he criticized. As the self-chosen "Friend of the People," Marat kept a suspicious watch on the nation's leaders. His journal was not a newspaper as we think of one today; it was a medium for the expression of his views on current events rather than for the reporting of news. A capably edited conservative organ was the *Moniteur,* advocating the views of the constitutionalists. Almost every leader of consequence had his journal for the reporting of events, the dissemination of propaganda, and the expression of viewpoints.

The last meeting of the National Constituent Assembly took place on September 30; on the following day, the deputies of the new Legislative Assembly took their seats. The king had publicly accepted the revised constitution, but, despite the fact that the officers under the constitution of 1791 were now functioning under it, the Revolution had yet a devious course to run. A serious error had been committed by the National Constituent Assembly when, by the "Self-denying Ordinance," it voted that none of its members was eligible for election

to the new Legislative Assembly; the new deputies were therefore inexperienced.

This body of unknowns had little in the way of a unified policy. It was divided into three major parties. The conservatives, numbering about 260, sat on the right of the assembly chamber and belonged for the most part to the Feuillant Club. This club had been organized by the more conservative Jacobins when they seceded from that organization after the revolting massacre of the *Champ-de-Mars.* Its leaders were such men as the Abbé Sieyès and General Lafayette. The left, or radical, deputies were a rather unified group, numbering about 130. They held membership in either the Jacobin or Cordelier clubs. In this group, most of the Jacobin members followed Maximilien Robespierre and were generally known as *Montagnards,* or the "Mountain." Some followed Brissot and were known at first as Brissotins, but later as Girondins. They were generally young men, idealistically minded, coming chiefly from the department of the Gironde. Perhaps the chief factor holding together this leftist group was the conviction that any treasonable activity on the king's part must result in his downfall. In the center sat the moderates, the largest group in point of numbers, who voted with right or left as they saw fit.

A major fault of the new governmental organization was the lack of intimate contact between the king's ministers and the assembly. This constitutional error had been pointed out at various times, but the separation of powers theory had been so indelibly impressed by the teachings of Rousseau that it effectually had curbed any attempts to create a responsible ministry.

Since the attempted flight of the king to Varennes, events moved rapidly towards the establishment of the French Republic. One of the steps leading to this momentous change was the declaration of war against Austria in April, 1792. The Girondins were the chief exponents of this war, for they saw in it an opportunity to increase their own popularity and importance. They felt that by precipitating a war, they would force the king into an open declaration of his purposes and thus deprive him of the powers he still possessed.

Lafayette, however, looked favorably on such a war as a means of increasing the powers of the monarch. Louis XVI appealed anew for the intervention of the European powers, by asking that they hold a meeting, accompanied with a display of force great enough to halt the radical trends in Paris. Robespierre was almost alone in his opposition to the war and he used to the utmost his reputation as "The Incorruptible" to frustrate belligerent policies. He pointed out that if France was successful in a war of this nature, the only type of government which could follow victory would be one possessing a strong executive. Until that time, he pointed out, one of the major aims of the Revolution had been to eliminate the strong, centralized government of the monarchy.

On March 1, 1792, Leopold II of Austria died and his son and successor, Francis II, showed himself much more ready to intervene in French affairs. During the same month, the French ministry fell and was replaced by one including a number of Girondins, with Dumouriez as the leading figure. He wanted a short and successful war and, from that time on, there could be no doubt as to the coming conflict, which the king and the assembly voted on April 20, 1792. The conflict was to last, with only brief interruptions, until 1815.

Dumouriez planned a short and decisive invasion of Belgium, but he reckoned without full knowledge of the disorganized condition of the French forces. The army, weakened by the emigration of many of its officers and by the desertion of hundreds of troops of the line, turned in disorderly flight on the Belgian frontier. To add to the troubles, Prussia entered the conflict as an ally of Austria (May 1, 1792). These two powers were unable, however, to turn to their advantage the disorganized condition of the French army, because of their interest in the Polish situation.

To prepare the nation for war, the assembly passed, late in May, a series of decrees, the hardest of which made it possible to deport those priests who had declined to accept the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Such clerics were known as "non-juring" priests. Other measures provided that an army be raised for the defense of Paris against internal as well as foreign foes. The king disapproved both

of these measures and vetoed them. When Roland, the Girondist Minister of the Interior, rebuked the king in public print for these vetoes, the Girondin ministry was dismissed; Dumouriez left Paris to take command of the northern army.

The reaction of the Parisian populace to this turn of affairs was demonstrated when a mob attempted to force the king to rescind his vetoes. This he refused to do. Though this attempt to force the king to act according to public opinion in Paris was variously interpreted, resentment towards the monarchy rapidly increased. During July and August, troops continued to pour into Paris in preparation for its defense. During these same months, the radical Jacobins and Cordeliers, openly reinforced by the laboring people of the sections of Paris, were working under Robespierre's guidance for the replacement of the monarchy by a republic.

The necessary spark to set off this revolutionary tinder was provided when, in reply to a request of Louis XVI, the allies published in the *Moniteur* of August 3, the famous *Brunswick Manifesto.* This pronouncement did as much as any other single incident to increase the revolutionary activity of the Jacobins and to unite the French nation against the invaders. The error made in the manifesto was that it was aimed at all Frenchmen, rather than merely against the Parisian radicals. The document stated that, while the powers of Europe had no desire to intervene in French internal affairs, they demanded that Louis XVI be restored to his full powers; if, under any circumstances, he was harmed, the allies threatened to devastate Paris. Louis unsuccessfully disavowed the manifesto. During the week following its publication, preparations were made for a march on the Tuileries. On the morning of August 10, the Royal household was forced to flee for safety to the meeting place of the assembly. Nearly 1,000 Swiss mercenaries and menials guarding the palace lost their lives in the onslaught of the mob.

In the disorder which accompanied these events of August 10, a revolutionary government, known as the *commune,* was established for the control of Paris. It did not destroy or dissolve the assembly since that body still had the support of the provinces which were

yet predominantly Girondin in their sympathies. The *commune* made clear, however, that it intended to call a new convention for the revision of the constitution and for the trial of Louis XVI. While the assembly agreed to the convocation of a constitutional convention, it refused to do more than suspend the king until its meeting. With the king suspended, some substitute was essential for the administration of the executive affairs of the realm. To the extra-legal *commune* and the Legislative Assembly was added, therefore, a third body which might well be considered an executive council. It was composed of six ministers, chief of whom was Danton, the Minister of Justice. He has been credited with organizing the insurrectionary movement leading up to the bloody August 10. In the following weeks, the Prussians were victorious and entered French territory on August 19. Danton led in an attempt to raise sufficient man power to turn back the invader and to crush opposition to the revolutionary government within France.

When news reached Paris of the imminent fall of Verdun, volunteers in the capital determined to rid themselves of all possible danger from the enemies they would be leaving in their rear when they marched to halt the invaders. They listened, only too well, to the cry of Marat for "heads" and the soldiers began the "September Massacres," which lasted some four days in Paris and then extended into the districts. In Paris alone, those bloody days left about 1,000 dead. The assembly was too frightened to interfere; the *commune* was not disposed to stop the butchery. Even if he had tried, it is questionable whether Danton could have done much to stop the carnage of those few days.

The elections for the National Convention took place in late August and early September during the height of these demonstrations, which were anti-royalist in tone. Those elections marked the end of the monarchy. Military affairs took a turn for the better when, on September 20, at the "Cannonade of Valmy," the Prussians, under Brunswick, were halted. On the following day (September 21, 1792), the National Convention met. The deputies unanimously agreed to a decree abolishing the monarchy, a decree which merely

legalized what had been a fact since August 10, 1792. On the following day, the convention voted to date future public papers from the Year I of the French Republic.

As in every past legislative body, certain factions developed within the National Convention. The *Montagnards* or the Mountain was composed of Jacobins like Marat, Danton, and Robespierre. Then there was the larger group known as the Center and a third group, the Girondins. The chief point of difference between them, late in 1792, was over the disposition to be made of the suspended Louis XVI. The *Montagnards,* and especially St. Just, were outspoken in their demands for the trial and execution of the unhappy monarch. The Girondins, on the other hand, attempted to delay trial.

The convention arraigned the king in early December; his trial lasted for about a month. During this period, an iron box, made by the king and containing his correspondence with Mirabeau, was found. The disclosure served to silence the opponents of the king's execution. The deputies were unanimous in convicting him of conspiracy against the nation. They decided against referring this question to a vote of the people and voted 387 to 334 for the death penalty. The execution took place on January 21, 1793.

The trial and execution of the king had immediate repercussions in Europe for, on February 1, 1793, the convention declared war on Great Britain and the United Provinces (Holland). On March 7, war was declared against Bourbon Spain. Before the year was out, all Europe, except Sweden, Denmark, Turkey, and Switzerland, was at war with France. This combination, fostered by Great Britain, is known as the First Coalition. Republican France was surrounded on all sides by the armed forces of Austria, Prussia, the United Provinces, Spain, and Russia. The German states of the Holy Roman Empire entered the coalition in the following year.

With the foreign threat, came defeats for the forces under General Dumouriez, who ultimately deserted to the enemy. Disaster struck also at General Custine in the region of the Rhine; open rebellion against the national government broke out in the Vendée and, when famine conditions faced great portions of the country, affairs reached

a serious state. The necessity for a unified governing power to cope with such national emergencies was quickly realized and, during the spring of 1793, a series of reform decrees were passed, one of which created the Committee of Public Safety. On the first committee of this name, Danton was the most influential personage. The powers of the committee extended to the control of the ministry and it had at its disposal a large expense account. While it was created for only a month, its term of life was extended to July, 1793. Among the other decrees passed during this spring, was one giving unlimited powers to the deputies who were sent as Representatives on Mission to the various armies and departments.

Within the convention, factional quarrels were brought to fever heat by the defection of Dumouriez. Danton was attacked for his friendliness with the traitor. Marat took part with the Mountain in a counter-attack on the Girondins. They, in turn, attempted to impeach Marat, but failed. The bickerings led eventually to the expulsion of the Girondins from the convention (June 2, 1793), at the instance of a new *commune,* which controlled the convention and which, in turn, was dominated by the Jacobin element. Paris had come to control the course of the Revolution and the departments could do little but rise up in revolt against the usurpation of power. To suppress this internal revolt, to make the national government supreme, extreme measures were demanded, if the impending foreign invasion was to be turned back.

The convention had been called to frame a new constitution and, during the period from June 10 to 24, it adopted one which never went into effect. This was a relatively liberal document, providing for universal manhood suffrage and eliminating most property qualifications. While this constitution was being framed, the Committee of Public Safety was attempting to organize a national government, but it was seriously embarrassed by military defeats and the revolts of the departments, which were demanding a federal rather than a national type of government. The pressure on the committee became so great that by July 10, 1793, it was dissolved and a new one created excluding Danton. This new committee was rather unified in

purpose, but almost at the time of its creation, Marat, the outstanding *Montagnard* deputy, was assassinated by Charlotte Corday (July 13, 1793). Thus, with Danton out of power and Marat dead, the way was open to the ascendancy of Robespierre. He became a member of the committee on July 27. During this same month, the federalist revolt of the departments was put down and the organization of national resources for the conflict with the foreign enemy was begun on a large scale.

Such preparations had not reached a stage warranting the promulgation of the new constitution. Internal and external affairs were still in such condition that it was deemed inexpedient to attempt the election and installation of a new government; the Committee of Public Safety continued in control of affairs. When, in September, food supplies ran low due to bad crops, profiteering, and the failure of the government to regulate the price of foodstuffs, and news reached the capital of the surrender of Toulon to the English, demand arose for terroristic methods to control the internal opposition to the government. In keeping with this demand, the committee retained itself in power by a permanent policy of terrorism from September 5, until the death of Robespierre.

The Jacobin clubs throughout France were ordered to denounce those persons suspected of opposing the governmental policies of the committee. The local administration of France was loosely but arbitrarily regulated by the Committee of Public Safety through the Representatives on Mission. By early December, 1793, the Government of the Terror was a unified organization, capable of arbitrarily ruling the French nation and of using terror against foreign and internal foe alike.

This government of the Terror had at its head the Committee of Public Safety, whose most important members were Robespierre and Carnot. This group appointed the members of a second Committee of General Security, which was charged with the necessary policing of the country. A third division of this government was the Revolutionary Tribunal, created to try all persons accused of anti-Revolutionary sentiments or activities. The tribunal began its work by

condemning Marie Antoinette to death on October 16, 1793. It then condemned some score of the Girondins who had been previously expelled from the legislature. Before the work was done, this court and other bloody courts throughout the land had put to death some 20,000 men, women, and children of all classes. Under the stress of the revolution and foreign invasion, some blood-letting seems to have been inevitable. Violence was inherent in the very nature of the situation. Such excesses were heartrending to Danton, who came out of his political retirement to lend support to the moderates. But his opposition made him, with the radical Hebertists, fit fodder for the hungry guillotine, and, on April 5, 1794, his head fell into the basket.

Robespierre was now in full control of affairs and the "Incorruptible" proceeded to the establishment of his idealistic Republic of Virtue. Aside from moral implications, he aimed at the further centralization of power in the hands of the committee; so effectively was this accomplished by use of terroristic methods that the period from June 10 to July 27 has been designated the "Great Terror." During those few weeks some 1,300 persons went to the guillotine by order of the Revolutionary Tribunal. Such excesses, with the harsh laws of the government and a realization that the nation was no longer in danger from foreign invasion, led to the reaction of Thermidor (July 27, 1794). This reaction was an attack aimed at Robespierre rather than at the committee as a whole; it succeeded because he failed to realize soon enough the strength of his opponents. By July 27, his enemies had gained control of the convention; on the following day, the "Incorruptible" and almost a score of his compatriots were victims of the blade they had prepared for so many others.

The blot left by the "Terror" on the pages of history has too often hidden the constructive accomplishments of that government. Perhaps the cardinal point in the revolutionary program of the committee was centralization of power in order that its feverishly organized war machine might become a national force for ridding France of the foreign foe. This government improved commercial conditions by

removing numerous restrictions on trade. Whether the methods justified the ends is still a moot question.

The Thermidorians, the middle class group which overthrew Robespierre and the Jacobins, entered on a policy of decentralization of the government. Their problems were numerous, but perhaps the most serious was the suppression of the Jacobin revolt which broke out against them. They concluded a series of treaties which effectively ended the First Coalition. The best known of these treaties was that of Basel (April 5, 1795) although there were three others concluded between March and July of that year. Only Austria and England remained at war with France. The Thermidorians next turned to the problem of providing a reasonably sound constitution for the maintenance of a legal government in France. Instead of revising the still dormant Constitution of 1793, the deputies wrote a new one, known as the Constitution of the Year III.

The weakness which the convention itself had displayed was to be avoided under this constitution by the creation of a bicameral legislature, to be known as the *Corps Législatif*. This *corps* was to consist of two houses, the Council of Elders and the Council of Five Hundred. The first council was to have one-half the number of the second. The Council of Five Hundred could initiate and discuss legislation; the Council of Elders could pass or reject measures, that is, veto them, when such measures were presented to them by the larger house. At certain times and for certain reasons, the two houses might meet jointly. The Constitution of the Year III provided that manhood suffrage with a slight property qualification should prevail. The executive, distinct and separate in powers from the legislative branch of the government, consisted of five directors, to be chosen by the elders from a list of former deputies, at least forty years of age, nominated by the Council of Five Hundred. One director was to retire every year, and each was to serve for three months, in rotation, as president of this executive board. The constitution did not materially change the local administrative system. This constitution establishing the government of the "directory" so

well provided for the separation of the powers that when inevitable disputes arose, resort to force was the alternative to inaction.

One last important act of the convention was a decree requiring that 500 of its members be chosen to membership in the new legislative councils. So unpopular was this "Two-thirds Ordinance" that it, with sundry other causes for complaint, served to provoke the insurrection of the thirteenth Vendémiaire (October 5, 1795). Some 20,000 men marched on the Tuileries in which the convention was meeting. There were hardly one-fifth that number of troops available for the defense of the convention. But those soldiers had been placed under the command of a young Corsican artilleryman, who so effectively placed his men and cannon that it took but a "whiff of grapeshot" to break up the assault. On October 26, 1795, the convention ended, and the government of the directory was inaugurated.

XVI

THE CAREER OF NAPOLEON TO THE COUP D'ETAT OF 1799

An attempt has been made to show that with the outbreak of the Revolution an effective beginning was made in the decentralization of the French government. So well was this accomplished that only by terroristic methods could the Committee of Public Safety maintain a central administration strong enough to repel the First Coalition. It will also be recalled that Robespierre had prophesied, when opposing the war policy of the Girondins, that a successful war would inevitably lead to dictatorship. With dissension and disorder throughout France, the necessity of upholding her autonomy against the foe without, against treason and reaction within, clearly foreshadowed the rise of dictatorship.

The question of whether personalities influence the course of history, or events and conditions shape the careers of historical personages is a most interesting one. The mass of Napoleonic literature alluded to in another connection gives ample evidence to argue either side of this question. In general, it might be hazarded, the biographer inclines to the personality thesis, the historian opposes it. There are, for example, so many "ifs," in the early career of Napoleon Bonaparte that one could reasonably accept the view that he was shaped by events; during the height of his career there seems little reason to doubt that he materially influenced the trend of history. Whichever view one wishes to accept, there can be no great question but that the Corsican was one of the most forceful personalities in history.

There has been considerable dispute over the exact date of Napoleon's birth, since he himself used several, when from time to time he felt the necessity of changing it; we may, however, accept August 15, 1769, as the correct one. This is important, for, in July of that

year, Corsica came under the control of France and, had his birth taken place on an earlier date, he would have been of foreign birth, a Corsican rather than a Frenchman. His father, Charles Bonaparte, was of the lesser Corsican nobility. His title was registered in Paris shortly before his death which occurred while the young Napoleon was attending the military school at Brienne. The support of the family of eight children fell on the shoulders of the proud, frugal, and accomplished mother, Laetitia. Napoleon entered the school at Brienne when about ten years of age, with the aid of a royal pension. Because of his poverty, his poor French, his small stature, and his pride in defeated Corsica, he became the butt of many a schoolboy joke. A sickly boy, he was morose and sullen; he found some relief from his unhappiness by concentrating on historical works, especially Plutarch, and the study of mathematics. After five years at Brienne, he spent a year in the Paris Cadets' School, where he took post-graduate work in artillery warfare and where he continued his extensive reading. When little more than fifteen years of age, he passed his examinations and was commissioned a sub-lieutenant and ordered to report to his regiment at Valence.

Since he was treated as a Corsican by his schoolfellows, it seemed but natural for him to adopt as his early ambition the liberation of his island home. During the years of army service which followed his training in Paris, he spent much of his time on furlough in Corsica. His stays were often prolonged and on several occasions his leave of absence was extended without permission from his superiors. In Corsica he occupied himself with writing and revolutionary activity; eventually military authorities lost patience with him and he was cashiered. His insurrectionary activities on the island brought him into conflict with the domestic authorities; when his arrest was ordered he hastened to Paris, where he became an intimate of Robespierre and a supporter of the "Incorruptible's" faction. While in Paris he observed the sacking of the Tuileries. Instead of being brought to trial for desertion, he was advanced to the rank of captain by the new government. Again he returned to Corsica instead of reporting to his regiment and his activities resulted in the sack of

the Bonaparte home and the subsequent flight of the family to France. From this time, Napoleon's Corsican patriotism declined; he began thinking and acting as a Frenchman.

The incompetent generals charged with reducing the English stronghold at Toulon found in Napoleon a competent artillery strategist. The successful termination of the siege placed his name before the French people for the first time and his services gained him the rank of brigadier-general. Following the execution of Robespierre, the young officer was imprisoned as a suspect because of his friendship with the "Incorruptible." His appeal to the convention eventually won freedom on the grounds that he could be of service to the army. The reactionary movement following Thermidor resulted in the assignment of Napoleon to the infantry, a detail which seemed to him an unbearable demotion. He again failed to report for service, but this time he remained in Paris. By the presentation of a brilliant plan for the conduct of an Italian campaign, he won a place in the Operations Department, but within a short time he was removed from the list of general officers for insubordination. Two weeks following this incident, he was requested to accept actual command of the small force charged with the defense of the convention against the mob which had arisen to protest the Two-Thirds Ordinance. His successful disposition of the cannon which Murat had obtained made possible the firing of the "whiff of grapeshot" and the consequent dispersal of the mob. The thanks of the convention were accompanied with an assignment to the command of the Army of the Interior.

The man nominally in charge of the troops for the defense of the convention had been Barras, who, in November, 1795, became one of the five directors under the Constitution of the Year III. Barras had considerable faith in the rising star of his subordinate. When the general in charge of the Army of Italy described Napoleon's plan as that of an insane man, the general was recalled; Barras determined to send Napoleon in his stead. During 1796, France was still at war with Great Britain, Austria, Piedmont-Sardinia, and Spain. The Italian assignment was probably the most difficult facing the French

military command at the time, but Napoleon accepted it with alacrity. Prior to his starting for the south, he married Josephine de Beauharnais, a native of the island of Martinique and the widow of a nobleman executed during the Terror. Napoleon met her through Barras. She was the mother of two children, Eugene and Hortense, both of whom were to prove more loyal to their step-father than any of his own brothers and sisters. The kindest characterization of the union would assign to Napoleon a real infatuation, to Josephine mere indifference.

There are numerous accounts of Napoleon's first meeting with his troops. The old soldiers scorned this small, sallow-faced, sickly commander and probably wondered what the directory could be thinking of to send such a general. He soon demonstrated that he knew what he was about, that he possessed courage and efficiency, and that he could give succinct orders which he expected to be obeyed; in a remarkably short time he won the admiration of his men who designated him "the Little Corporal." It now appears that the speech, so often quoted, that Napoleon presumably gave to his troops before embarking on the first Italian campaign, was one written while he was drafting his memoirs at St. Helena. In the campaign, Napoleon demonstrated most of the characteristics common to the remainder of his military career. His most effective weapons were the mobility of his troops and adroit use of artillery. For fifteen years he was to keep his armies either ready for, or on, the march. His strategy was generally that of feinting with a small force to divide his enemy, whereupon he would throw the full strength of his united force on the divisions of the enemy and defeat each in turn.

The French military campaigns mapped out for the year 1796 included two in the region of the Rhine, under the commands of Generals Jourdan and Moreau, and the campaign in Italy under Bonaparte. The Italian troops were good soldiers, numbering some 40,000 men, but they had been poorly paid. Many were in want of food, clothing, arms, and ammunition. Napoleon took command in early April and in a series of brilliant marches separated the Sar-

dinians from the Austrians and then forced both to retreat. An armistice and peace were soon arranged with Sardinia. Napoleon realized that his real foe in Italy was the Austrian army with which he soon fought the bloody Battle of Lodi, after which he marched triumphantly into Milan and Lombardy. He laid siege to Mantua in early June. The Austrians sent one army after another to the relief of the besieged garrison, but the wily Napoleon defeated each expedition by meeting its separate divisions with the full force at his command. Most famous of these battles were those of Arcola (November 14-17, 1796), and Rivoli (January 14, 1797). This last was the decisive encounter in the campaign; within a few days Mantua was opened to the victorious invading army. During the spring of 1797, the French generals in the Rhine region were advancing rapidly; when Napoleon came within 100 miles of Vienna, he offered an armistice to the Austrians rather than permit the honor of victory to pass to other French commanders.

The preliminary Peace of Leoben was signed on April 18, 1797, contrary to the expressed wishes of the directory. France gained, by this arrangement, preliminary title to Lombardy and the Austrian Netherlands, although those regions were already hers by conquest. During the next few months, Napoleon busied himself with diplomatic affairs in Italy. On July 9, the Cisalpine Republic was proclaimed, based on Lombardy. Then the Ligurian Republic was created out of Genoa. This was in keeping with a distinctly Napoleonic policy for Italy. In the meantime, royalist opposition to the government of the directory resulted in an attempt to overthrow the established order. When the scheme had been ascertained by several of the more radical directors, they called on Napoleon to suppress the uprising against their authority. This he did in the *coup* of Eighteenth Fructidor (September 4, 1797). A revolutionary directory was established which had to rely on force to maintain itself; the question was how long the generals, especially Napoleon, would permit it to govern.

After Leoben, negotiations were continued to bring about a definite peace with Austria. This was accomplished by the Treaty of Campo

Formio, signed October 17, 1797. Through its clauses, many of which were secret, Austria recognized French annexation of the Austrian Netherlands and ceded almost two-thirds of the territory of the Holy Roman Empire, left of the Rhine, to France. There was an understanding to the effect that the dispossessed German princes would receive lands elsewhere in the Empire. In exchange for her loss of Lombardy, Austria received Istria, Venice, and Dalmatia. There were numerous reasons why France should not have signed this treaty, for it amounted to a declaration of war rather than peace, but the terms were so popular that the directory could do nothing but acquiesce.

Napoleon had acted independent of and often in opposition to the instructions of the directory in the development of his Italian system. His excuse was that he was on the field and could better understand the circumstances. Then, too, was he not sending wagon train after wagon train filled with loot and tribute, exacted from the rich Italian cities, to the bankrupt directory? The directors began to fear greatly the strength and popularity of this successful militarist, but, since they owed their offices to his intervention during Fructidor, and since open opposition to his policies would put them in popular disfavor, they refrained from action. Napoleon had firm faith in his own good fortune; he sincerely believed that his "star" would rise to unheard-of heights. His problem, as he saw it, was merely to await the proper moment. The conqueror of Italy returned to Paris in December, 1797, where he conducted himself modestly despite the ovation tendered him. His presence in Paris made the government itself seem unimportant and the directors became as eager to have him out of Paris as he himself was to get away from the life of the capital.

It will have been noted that all the members of the First Coalition, except England, had been humbled by France. The directory now suggested to Napoleon that he attempt an invasion of the British Isles. While he prepared for the expedition, he came into contact with the astute schemer, Talleyrand, one-time Bishop of Autun, now recently returned from exile in the United States to become foreign minister under the directorate. Both Talleyrand and Napo-

leon were interested in an eastern expedition; they soon entered into intrigues which convinced the directors of its feasibility.

The Egyptian campaign was the first of three major Napoleonic attempts to humble Great Britain. He saw in a French conquest of Egypt the opportunity to cut the English "life line" to India, to revive the old French Empire in India, and to strike at the source of England's commercial prosperity. He failed to take into account that Britain was passing through the Industrial Revolution and that her survival no longer depended on direct connections with the Far East.

The Egyptian expedition was of profound scholarly significance. What appeared to many as an exotic adventure at best, gained respectability when Napoleon gathered about him a number of competent scientists who made extensive plans for a survey of the resources of the land of the pharaohs. The work of these scientists laid the foundation for modern Egyptology; the most valuable result of the expedition probably was the discovery of the tri-lingual Rosetta Stone. This stone contains texts in Greek, Demotic, and hieroglyphics; when translated by Champollion and others, it gave the key to the decipherment of hieroglyphics. This has made possible a study of the history of ancient Egypt from the written records.

The expedition left the French coast in May, 1798, and, after eluding the British fleet under the command of Admiral Nelson, captured the island fortress of Malta. This incident brought Russia into the coalition against France. By July 1, 50,000 French troops arrived at Aboukir Bay in Egypt. Alexandria was taken, and, on July 21, the Napoleonic army defeated that of the Egyptian Mamelukes in the Battle of the Pyramids. Thus far, the expedition had been successful, but eventually Nelson located the French Fleet anchored in Aboukir Bay. On August 1, in the Battle of the Nile, he almost totally destroyed the enemy squadron; Napoleon and his army were now exiled in Africa, without a line of communications to France. In September, Turkey joined Russia and England in the war against France, thus giving Napoleon an opportunity to march into Syria where he laid siege to Acre. When Napoleon received information that the British fleet was transporting a Turkish army

to Egypt, he abandoned the siege. He arrived in Egypt in time to deliver a decisive defeat to the Turks in the Battle of Aboukir, July 25, 1799. This victory was his last one of consequence in Egypt, for, without a regular line of communication with France, he could no longer hope to conquer the Turkish Empire. Napoleon's inability to raise the siege at Acre and the defeat of the forces of insurrection in India by Wellesley made it clear enough that his first attack on the supremacy of England had failed.

In France, during the meantime, numerous changes had taken place within the directory until by mid-June, 1799, the two councils had effectively changed the make-up of the executive branch of the government. One of the new directors was the constitution-making Abbé Sieyès, whose aim now, as always, was to provide a better charter for the republic. His plan was to provide a government with all the appearance of democracy, but which would be centralized and powerful enough to minister adequately to the needs of the French nation. To accomplish these ends, he sought a capable military leader whose task it would be to protect the republic without dominating it. Napoleon at Acre received word of the change in French internal affairs and soon determined that he could advance faster in France than in Egypt. He abandoned his troops in Africa and with a small party made his way back to France, which he reached early in October. The Egyptian expeditionary forces finally surrendered in 1801. The falsified or exaggerated reports sent back to France by Napoleon telling of his victories in the east guaranteed him a flattering reception. In Paris, Talleyrand, Sieyès, and Bonaparte came together for a discussion of the situation. The scheme they evolved was a rather simple one and, since it worked, there is reason for giving it in some detail. The conspirators set the eighteenth Brumaire for the *coup.* Under their plan, Sieyès and Lucien Bonaparte were to prevail on the Council of Elders to remove the two legislative bodies to Saint Cloud, near Paris, but far enough away to be free from intimidation by the Parisian populace. Napoleon would then take charge of the troops in Paris and use them to coerce certain directors to resign, and to dissolve the councils. Finally, an executive

council, composed of three consuls, was to be established to draw up a permanent constitution.

The *coup* was accomplished on the eighteenth and nineteenth Brumaire (November 9, 10, 1799). It was carried out according to the plans except that on the latter date Napoleon lost his head, but, when the whole stake seemed lost, Lucien Bonaparte rescued him. That night, Napoleon, Sieyès, and Ducos were declared provisional consuls. The republic continued to exist legally; in reality, a decade of revolutionary activity had brought into power a military dictator. The nation was indifferent to the events of Brumaire, for the attitude was taken that if it took a military man to restore peace and order, to maintain the civil advantages won by the Revolution, then, let it be a military dictator. The internal disorder of the past ten years had left in its wake a surfeit of problems by which to test the ability and good sense of any form of government. Napoleon entered on a program of reconstruction which began by consolidating the accomplishments of the Revolution.

Sieyès began work with two committees on the task of revising the constitution. His scheme placed Napoleon in the position of a well-paid, but powerless, super-king. For this reason, and because the progress of the committees was slow, Napoleon brought the revision process to an abrupt end by incorporating some of his own ideas with those of Sieyès. and the document was ready by December 15, 1799. The overwhelming ratification of this constitution, 3,000,000 for, to 1,500 against, was hardly a ratifying vote since the constitution was already in effect before the referendum.

The Constitution of the Year VIII went into effect before Christmas, 1799, when the Provisional Consulate established on the nineteenth Brumaire was succeeded by the Ten Year Consulate. The executive power under this constitution was vested in three consuls, elected for ten years and eligible to re-election. In reality, the First Consul, Napoleon, possessed full powers of dictatorship and the other consuls were figureheads. The constitution restored universal suffrage for twenty-one-year-old males but the franchise gave little power to the rank and file, for the manner of electing officials was

so complex and indirect that the voter was inconsequential in the body politic. The legal voters in a district chose one-tenth of their number to a communal list. Those elected to the communal list met together and elected one-tenth of their number to the departmental list, and then the elected members of the departmental list chose one-tenth of their number. The members of this last selective group were eligible to serve in national public offices and appointments had to be made from this list. So complicated a system, even if strictly followed, made popular government out of the question.

There were four legislative bodies provided for under this Constitution of the Year VIII. So intricate was the system of checks and balances placed over them by law that little effective action could be expected. A Council of State, whose membership came to number forty-five, was nominated by the First Consul, and had the right to introduce legislation. When it did so, it was generally on orders from the First Consul. A second house, the Tribunate, with a membership of 100, could debate the merits of the laws presented to it by the Council of State. A third body, the Assembly, composed of three hundred deputies, could pass or reject a law without discussing it. A fourth house, known as the Conservative Senate, had functions somewhat like a supreme court in that it could invalidate a law, the constitutionality of which was questioned. Of these four bodies, the Council of State did the most work and was, by far, the most important.

While the Constitution of the Year VIII retained most of the attributes of a republican form of government, it failed to provide a bill of rights and, actually, it hid within it the constitutional machinery requisite to the development of the sole dictatorial power of Napoleon Bonaparte. It was not strange that after ten years of revolutionary strife, the French people would condone with little or no opposition this usurpation of power.

XVII

THE NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE AND ITS FALL

Napoleon's program for the restoration of peace and order within France was well under way when he found himself faced with another war. He made peace proposals to both Great Britain and Austria, knowing they would not be accepted, yet hoping thereby to throw the blame for renewed hostilities on his enemies. Again he had to strike at a foe who could be reached without a navy. Moreau's army crossed the Rhine and forced the Austrians to retreat as far as Ulm. Masséna in North Italy retained an Austrian army in that region to watch him. Napoleon, using troops released by the ending of the civil strife in the Vendée, marched over the Great Saint Bernard Pass and into the Po Valley (May, 1800). When the Austrians located Napoleon's position, they began a concentration of troops against his armies in North Italy during early June. The Austrian general Melas struck at Marengo; the first fighting was decidedly in favor of the Austrians, but arrival of re-enforcements gave ultimate victory to the French. An armistice was arranged between the two commanders under which the French occupied Lombardy to the Mincio River.

Marengo was more than a great military victory for Napoleon; it entrenched him in power. Besides eliminating the possibility of his overthrow by enemies in Paris, the battle again gave him access to the rich cities of Northern Italy upon which he levied heavy tribute. No definitive peace was arranged during the period of the armistice, so that war was resumed during the winter of 1800. The major operations took place in the north where, at Hohenlinden, Moreau's troops gave the Austrians a disastrous defeat. They pressed on after the battle until within a few days' march of Vienna, where Moreau finally granted an armistice. During the period of truce, the

Austrians capitulated by signing the Treaty of Lunéville (February 9, 1801).

The chief clauses of the treaty reaffirmed the distribution of territory made by the Treaty of Campo Formio (1797) regarding the Austrian Netherlands, the left bank of the Rhine, and Northern Italy. The Emperor, Francis II, agreed to recognize the Kingdom of Etruria (Tuscany), created by Napoleon to satisfy a portion of his agreement with Spain concerning the transfer of Louisiana to France. The emperor also agreed to recognize the formation of the Batavian (Holland), the Helvetic (Switzerland), and the Ligurian republics. The only Italian possession left to Austria was Venetia. The treaty gave France supervisory rights over the assignment of land within the Holy Roman Empire to those princes who were deprived of their possessions on the left bank of the Rhine.

Again, France was at war with Great Britain alone. Both nations desired peace, England for the opportunity to develop her trade, France to solve her internal problems. After the English conquest of Malta, the capitulation of the French troops in Egypt, and the defeat of the Danish fleet by Nelson at Copenhagen, the British government felt that the peace could be arranged without dishonor. Pitt's government had been replaced by that of Addington and, on October 1, 1801, preliminary articles of peace were signed at London. The definitive treaty was signed at Amiens, March 25, 1802. The Treaty of Amiens, March, 1802, was a decided victory for Napoleon; England recognized his supremacy on the Continent and left him free to carry on his plans and policies. The treaty was significant because of what it failed to treat. Napoleon refused to negotiate with England concerning matters covered by the Treaty of Lunéville; the Treaty of Amiens failed to include a commercial arrangement greatly desired by Great Britain's business interests.

Under the Treaty of Amiens, England recognized French conquests, including Napoleonic control of Holland, Belgium, and the left bank of the Rhine. The colonies of Spain, France, and Holland which had been captured by the English navy were returned to their former owners, with two important exceptions. Dutch Ceylon and

Spanish Trinidad were retained by Great Britain, although the Cape of Good Hope was returned to the Dutch. Malta was given back to the Knights of Saint John. This was satisfactory to Great Britain and especially pleasing to the czar, who deemed himself the protector of that order. It did not place a strong enough government in control of the island to deter Napoleon, should he wish to continue his eastern schemes. Egypt was restored to the Turks, the French agreed to evacuate Naples, and the English consented to leave Elba. The failure of the treaty to deal with issues which had kept England in the conflict and the fact that so many things were left undone or half done, made the Treaty of Amiens a truce rather than a peace.

Notice has been taken of the fact that the Second Italian campaign interrupted the reorganization of France under Napoleon's guidance. The campaign provided him with a source of revenue from the North Italian cities to continue his reconstruction program. The distinguishing feature of his reforms was centralization. His law of February 17, 1800, is still the basis of local administration in France. Under that law, he accepted numerous of the innovations of the Revolution but incorporated reforms of his own. Departments were placed under administrative officials called prefects; districts were put under subprefects; and the cities and towns were governed by mayors. Each of these administrative officers was supplied with an advisory council; all officials, administrative and advisory, were appointed by the First Consul. A law of March 18, 1800, revised the judiciary system, centralizing it in contrast to the decentralization of the *Ancien Régime.* All judges were appointed by the First Consul. One interesting innovation was the addition to each court of a national officer, charged with seeing that justice was done, that the procedure was correct, and that nothing inimical to the national government took place within the court room. It was the duty of all these judicial and administrative officials, under the direct control of the national government, to maintain internal quiet and order, a task they performed with remarkable success.

One of the major reforms of the consulate was in the field of taxation. Note has already been made of the income obtained from

regions conquered by the Napoleonic armies. The First Consul set about centralizing the internal taxation system. His first step was to cut the operating budget of the nation to a minimum; he then placed the collection of direct taxes under the minister of finance. A rate of assessment was established and rigorously maintained; a real estate census was taken and collections promptly begun. A major source of income was afforded with the sale of church lands. There was co-operation between the local officials and the central office in Paris so that almost from the beginning of the reform movement collections were efficiently made.

Napoleon's financial policy was not absolutely fair to all concerned, but it had the merit of restoring faith in the government and bringing about a feeling of financial security. The value of government bonds increased rapidly after the *Coup d'Etat* due to the creation of a sinking fund and the levy of a heavy war tax. Sufficient funds for the operation of the Provisional Consulate had been advanced by bankers on the basis of these reforms; the establishment of the Bank of France made possible eventual elimination of depreciated currency. The bank issued notes, liquidated government obligations in specie, and made possible early restoration of confidence. Three years later, the bank was given a monopoly of note issue for the city of Paris; it earned enormous profits for its shareholders, one of whom was Napoleon.

The religious question found Napoleon an impartial arbiter. He was well aware of the fact that the French people were predominantly of the Roman Catholic faith. He realized, too, that a settlement of the church issue would facilitate the restoration of peace and concord throughout the nation. A further argument in favor of coming to terms with the Holy See was found in the fact that until the church recognized as legal the government's disposition of its expropriated lands, titles of purchasers would be precarious. Early in 1801, Pope Pius VII and Napoleon began negotiations which lasted until July, when the Concordat was accepted by the French government. The preamble to the Concordat shows to what extent compromise was carried; it was significant in that it contained lines

to the effect that the Roman Catholic faith was recognized by the French government as the religion of most of the French people. The papal desire to have the Catholic religion declared the state religion was thus thwarted by Napoleon. Under the agreement, the First Consul could appoint all French bishops and the pope could pass on the appointments, although the church retained the right of installation. The bishops, in turn, were to appoint the lesser church officials. The government agreed to pay the salaries of churchmen and to provide them with places of worship, on condition that they took an oath to support the French government. The pope, in exchange, recognized the confiscation and sale of church property. The Concordat thus preserved the civil gains made by the Revolution, while it restored a working relationship between the French government and the papacy which was of undoubted benefit to both.

A clause in the Concordat had given Napoleon police and regulatory powers over public worship. In the Organic Articles, he provided a series of regulations by which the administration could control Protestant as well as Catholic churches of France. These Articles were joined with the Concordat without the consent of the pope; the two were printed and issued as if they were a single document. This was an act of bad grace on the part of the First Consul and he was eventually to rue the day when he had over-emphasized the cause of Gallicanism. The peace with the church was celebrated, nevertheless, at Notre Dame, on April 18, 1802.

Napoleon made it clear that anyone willing to support his government need not remain in exile for past activities. He granted amnesty to the *émigrés,* their relatives, the non-juring priests, rebels, reactionaries, royalists, and suspects of all sorts, on the condition that they maintain peace. To indicate his lack of animus against any group, as well as his political acumen, he placed about himself ministers and public officials of every degree of political faith. These ranged from Talleyrand, the noble who became minister of foreign affairs, to Fouché, the radical Jacobin who became minister of police. Due to this lenient policy, many *émigrés* returned to France and again took some part in her political, economic, and social life.

While First Consul, Napoleon began the reorganization of the French legal system. He was not an innovator in this field. Previous attempts at revision had been made, but, during the period of revolutionary strife, various attempts to correlate the new laws with the old had failed. The work of bringing together a Civil Code was begun in 1800 and completed four years later. This code, known as the Code Napoleon, was a compilation of the civil accomplishments of the Revolution, corrected and made to conform with much that was fundamental in the law of pre-revolutionary France. Its basis was centuries of French practice and the Code Justinian. It was relatively brief and clear; it took a position midway between the legal system of the *Ancien Régime* and the radical hodge-podge of the revolutionary period. The Napoleonic Code has an importance greater than mere adoption in France could have given it, for the code followed the Napoleonic armies into Switzerland, Germany, Italy, and Belgium, and eventually extended French revolutionary ideals and principles to such far-flung areas as Louisiana, Egypt, Japan, Canada, and portions of South and Central America. There were a number of other codes which became law during the period of the Empire. Among them should be mentioned the Code of Civil Procedure (1806), the Commercial Code (1807), and the Code of Criminal Procedure and the Criminal Code (1810).

The period from the *Coup d' Etat*, until the coronation of Napoleon as Emperor of the French, in December, 1804, was one in which there was progressive centralization of the powers of government. The Provisional Consulate of 1799 was soon succeeded by the Ten Year Consulate. By 1802, Napoleon believed his position secure enough further to consolidate his power, and the Life Consulate resulted. It was his boast that he held power by the consent of the people he governed. In this instance, to keep up the fiction, he gave Frenchmen the opportunity to vote whether he should hold the Consulate for life. The resultant vote was 3,500,000 for the proposal and about 8,000 against it. This new arrangement necessitated some revision of the constitution; the so-called Constitution of the Year X was adopted on August 4, 1802, although it merely amended that of

the year VIII, which continued in operation. The amended constitution created a Privy Council; reduced the future size of the Tribunate; created electoral colleges in place of the district, departmental, and national lists of citizens eligible to office; it further limited the meager powers of the sundry legislative houses.

The two years which followed the establishment of the Life Consulate were a period of further consolidation and concentration of power in the hands of the Life Consul. When, during 1804, he announced the discovery of a royalist plot to overthrow the established regime, he was able to carry out the last step in his governmental ambitions. With a view to the future of Europe, which he envisioned under a single ruler, he now proposed the establishment of the Empire. The plan was embodied in the Constitution of the Year XII (May 18, 1804). The document declared the title an hereditary one and practically destroyed the powers of the numerous legislative bodies which had been created in 1799. Again, Napoleon referred the issue to the voters of France, not however, the question of whether an empire should be established, but how the Crown should be inherited. The Empire was an established fact before the plebiscite.

Napoleon invited the pope to attend the coronation in Notre Dame in Paris. On December 2, he received the Crown from the pontiff, placed it on his own head, and then crowned Josephine. In return for the service Pius VII had performed, Napoleon agreed to supplant the revolutionary calendar by the Gregorian. The manner in which Napoleon conducted his coronation did little to better relations with the church, although papal recognition assisted in gaining recognition elsewhere. The republics he had created, with Austria and Prussia, soon recognized his title, but England, Russia, Sweden, and Turkey refused to acknowledge its validity.

Meanwhile, Napoleon had broken the Peace of Amiens, in what was obviously an attempt to expand the boundaries of France and to restore the former French colonial empire. Hostilities were resumed in May, 1803. To accomplish the reduction of Britain's commercial supremacy, Napoleon aimed at the domination of all

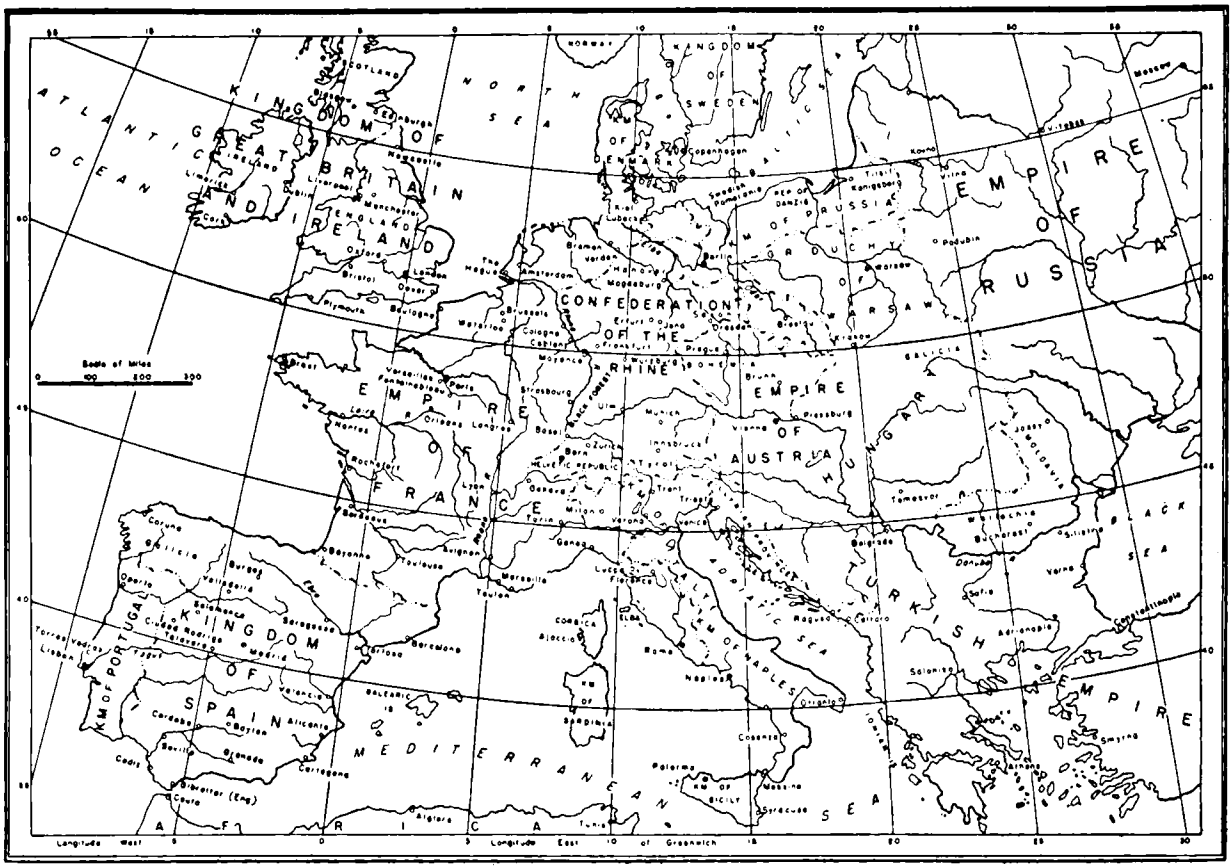
Europe, to cut his island foe from continental markets. Causes and incidents which provoked this new outbreak were numerous. Napoleon had interfered in Holland and in Switzerland, he had espoused a plan for the revival of a French empire in the Mississippi Valley, and had refused to negotiate a commercial treaty with Great Britain. His control over Holland gave him control of the Cape of Good Hope; his renewed interest in Egypt and the dismemberment of Turkey all served to bring the British back into a conflict which was to last over a decade.

During the autumn of 1803, Napoleon began concentration of troops at Boulogne, on the Channel, preparatory to invading England. His early plan contemplated the transportation of these troops by means of flat-boats, but when this was found too difficult, the plan was altered. Numerous interpretations of Napoleon's real intentions at this stage of his career have been recorded, but it would seem safe to say that he really intended to invade Britain and it was evident that English statesmen like Pitt were convinced of it at the time. Early in 1804, the plan of invasion was changed so that the flat-boats would be convoyed by the French navy. The whole scheme required that a portion of the fleet start for the West Indies, with the view to drawing off the English fleet. Then, the French fleet was to hurry home and assist in convoying the flat-boats to England before the British ships could return. The plan worked well enough, except that when Admiral Villeneuve tried to lose Nelson in the West Indies, he failed. At this juncture, news of Austrian mobilization caused Napoleon to march his Grand Army from Boulogne against the old foe. On September 3, Austria declared war. Not until Napoleon reached Vienna, did he receive word of the disastrous end to his scheme for the invasion of England. The Battle of Trafalgar (October 21, 1805) resulted in the decisive defeat of the combined French and Spanish navies by Lord Nelson. Like the Elizabethan victory over the Spanish Armada, it ensured England's mastery of the sea. It did not stop the invasion of England which Napoleon had planned, for he had given up the scheme almost two months before.

The royalist plot against the life of Napoleon which facilitated his assumption of the imperial title had implications of another nature. The plot implicated a Bourbon prince whom the French authorities took to be the young Prince of Enghien, living in Baden. On orders from Napoleon, he was kidnapped, given a mock trial, and executed, despite the fact Napoleon knew of his innocence. Bonaparte considered this murder as an essential warning to the Bourbons, but it was also a major factor in forcing Russia into an alliance with Great Britain against France and had its part in arousing the Austrian court against the Napoleonic government. The Anglo-Russian agreement served as the basis of another coalition against France.

We left Napoleon marching his Boulogne Army against Austria in the fall of 1805. This was a brief and decisive campaign. Russian aid was on the way, but before it could reach the Austrians, Napoleon surrounded General Mack's force at Ulm and brought about its surrender. With little hindrance, the French troops marched into Vienna, where Napoleon awaited the concentration of the Russian troops, under Czar Alexander, and the arrival of the Austrian army from Italy. Before the latter's arrival, the Russian command decided to attack. The brilliance of Bonaparte's counter plan made the Battle of Austerlitz (December 2, 1805) the model engagement of his career. This disaster to the Russians destroyed the coalition; the losses were three times as great for the allies as for the French.

During this campaign, Napoleon had received aid from sundry German states and in the Peace of Pressburg, accepted by Austria on December 26, 1805, these states received their compensation in emancipation from Austria and the Holy Roman Empire. By the treaty, Francis II recognized Würtemberg and Bavaria as kingdoms. Austria gave up Venice and all her possessions in South Germany and Italy. The treaty provided for the creation of a German Confederation, under French tutelage, to take the place of the defunct Holy Roman Empire. To the creation of the confederation, Talleyrand devoted six months. He made separate arrangements with each of the German states involved; on July 13, 1806, the several



THE NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE

agreements were combined and the Confederation of the Rhine proclaimed. It contained fifteen states, a number which more than doubled within the next few years, and constituted what might well be classed as a third Germany if Austria and Prussia be counted as the first two. By the creation of this confederation, many smaller German states were consolidated into the larger ones; thus Napoleon was responsible for a major step in the ultimate unification of Germany. He agreed to serve as protector of the confederation in return for which it was to supply him with troops and supplies in any future war he might wage. The official end of the Holy Roman Empire came on August 6, 1806, when Francis II changed his title to "Hereditary Emperor of Austria."

Napoleon's concept of a great European empire was brought nearer fruition by virtue of Austerlitz and the Treaty of Pressburg. In Italy, the Queen of Naples, a sister of Marie Antoinette, had openly opposed the Napoleonic regime, and the emperor decided to make an example of her by ordering her deposition. His brother, Joseph, was made king of Naples in March, 1806; during June of the same year, Louis Bonaparte was made King of Holland. For brothers, sisters, in-laws, step-children, and supporters, military and civil alike, Napoleon created principalities and duchies. The faithful were well rewarded and by such generosity they were kept at the emperor's beck and call.

No peace had been arranged with Great Britain or Russia. Napoleon's duplicity with regard to Hanover estranged the Prussian ruler, Frederick William, who in July made a secret alliance with the czar. Russian and Prussian troops were called to the colors in August, 1806, and when, late in that month, a Nuremberg bookseller was executed for having distributed an inflammatory pamphlet calling on all Germans to rise against the French oppressor, a major nationalistic movement was launched in Germany. Prussia, however, was unprepared for entry into a war with the trained forces under Napoleon. In the two decisive battles of Jena and Auerstädt, the Prussians were routed. Less than a fortnight later, the French forces were in Berlin and the king had fled. This

short campaign gave Napoleon control of North Germany, as Austerlitz had given him South Germany. He was now able to turn his attention to Russia. The czar had declined peace terms after Austerlitz, but now, with the dismemberment of Prussia, he was again face to face with the Napoleonic armies. The czar is an interesting historical personage. His reign began after the murder of the Czar Paul and, at the time, gave every indication of becoming noted for liberalism which the new czar professed. With each passing year, he became a bit more of a mystic, a bit less the reformer, more the autocrat and less the benevolent despot.

The Grand Army had a bloody engagement with the Russians at Eylau in February, 1807, but the French troops were too exhausted to pursue their opponents and make the battle a decisive one. With the coming of spring, with prodigious work and adroit planning on the emperor's part, the superior French force defeated the Russians again in the Battle of Friedland (June, 1807). Following the battle, an armistice was arranged, during which the two rulers, Napoleon and Alexander, held conferences on board a raft in the Nieman River. Frederick William was an interested but seldom-consulted participant. The result of their agreements was included in two secret and two open treaties, one of each between France and Russia, and one each between France and Prussia. These were known as the Treaties of Tilsit, after a nearby town, and were accepted between July 7-9, 1807. Since Frederick William was the pawn in the emperors' game, Prussia was practically forced to meet the costs of the campaign which had just been concluded.

By the Peace of Tilsit, Alexander allied himself with Napoleon against England, agreed to certain territorial changes already made by Napoleon, accepted the French emperor's demand that half of Prussia's population be taken from her, recognized the creation of the Kingdom of Westphalia, which was placed under the rule of Jerome Bonaparte, and the formation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, under the nominal control of the king of Saxony. For all these concessions, Alexander was given the promise of a free hand in affairs of the east. Napoleon had, however, overreached

himself in the Peace of Tilsit, for his future acts, where Russia was interested, were not in keeping with its terms. This led eventually to the defection of the czar and the consequent disastrous Russian campaign of 1812.

The development of the "Continental System" was one of three major Napoleonic attempts to destroy the commercial prosperity of England, and through this her political supremacy in Europe. His other chief assaults on British prosperity and prestige were the Egyptian expedition and the proposed expedition of the Boulogne Army. To be correctly understood, the Continental System must be considered not only as an economic weapon against England, but as a means of creating a united Europe under Napoleonic domination. Under the mercantilistic economc philosophy of the time, governmental regulation of trade had been common. During the latter part of the eighteenth century, *laissez faire* doctrines began to permeate the economic policies of the trading nations. Especially was this true of England, where the Industrial Revolution was taking place. The background for the diplomatic disputes arising out of the Continental System is to be found in the famous Rule of 1756, which declared that trade closed in time of peace could not be opened in time of war. The Continental System was not begun by Napoleon, but by the National Convention, which, in a decree of May 9, 1793, authorized French vessels to seize enemy or neutral goods bound for an enemy port. American shipping was exempted under this decree. British Orders in Council were passed in retribution for the French decree. On July 2, 1796, the directory decreed that French vessels might seize vessels, cargoes, and men just as English vessels were doing.

In May, 1806, a British Order in Council announced that the French coast was blockaded from the Elbe to Brest. In retaliation for this order, Napoleon issued his famous Berlin Decree, which declared the British Isles blockaded; since he had no effective navy, it was but a paper blockade. To enforce his blockade, the nations with which Napoleon negotiated treaties, like Prussia and Russia, and the regions which he had conquered, annexed, or controlled,

were forced to prohibit the entry of English ships or goods. Order in Council followed decree from 1806 until 1810, affecting not only the combatants, but important neutral nations like the United States. Thus it was that in self-protection and retaliation, the United States passed an Embargo Act in 1807, a Non-Intercourse Act and the Macon Bill No. 2. In 1812 America entered into a war against Great Britain for the second time.

In the commercial warfare, England aimed not at starving France, but at increasing her own trade in manufactured goods with the countries of Europe. Thus England had become the greatest industrial center of Europe. Because of her large trade balance she was able to furnish huge subsidies both in money and goods, to Napoleon's enemies on the Continent. England could not be reached by Napoleon's armies because of her isolated position and the fact she controlled the seas. Napoleon, therefore, aimed at bankrupting her. He intended also to obtain for French manufacturers the markets which English goods had been serving. To enforce his land blockade of the British Isles, it was necessary for him to attempt the conquest of Portugal; this led him to interfere in Spain, where he wasted so many troops and such sums of money that he was to meet ultimate defeat for his blunder.

The necessity of an honest and capable bureaucracy to maintain such an extensive blockade, the prevalence of smuggling, and the eventual licensing of trade with England doomed Napoleon's plans to failure. One of the by-products of this European attempt at self-sufficiency was the sugar beet. When, late in 1810, Napoleon tried to force the czar to end smuggling of British commodities to Russia, Alexander defied him and the Continental System collapsed.

By 1810, Napoleon had reached the zenith of his power; he was in control of Central Europe, his Continental System was hurting England, and his armies were having fair success in the Iberian Peninsula. In 1804, he had entered on a comprehensive and extended program of internal improvements, canals, roads, bridges, drainage of lowlands, as well as the beautification of the capital. Although enormous sums were spent, the results were

of permanent value and often of lasting beauty. His educational reforms were begun in 1802 and completed by 1808, with the creation of the University, which was not a single institution of higher learning, but the whole French educational system. The chief function of Napoleonic education was to provide uniform instruction in the ways of obedient citizenship, rather than freedom to search out the truth. The Napoleonic formula demanded guidance of the young through conservative and Catholic precepts. The emperor aimed at stabilizing social conditions and at preserving the Napoleonic regime. The system was not successful, although it did establish certain principles which served as precedents in later educational reform: state supported education, schools open to all, and non-clerical teachers.

One new social group was introduced during the period of the Empire. This was the new nobility. Mention has already been made of an upper or court nobility, but a Legion of Honor was created to honor civil as well as military servitors of the state, regardless of birth. Napoleon insisted that talent should have its reward even if it be a mere title, a "bauble" as he called it. The creation of a noble class was a reactionary measure, but it was intended to help reconcile the rest of Europe to Napoleonic rule in France and, to a degree, it tended to accomplish this.

Napoleon had sent his veterans into Spain during 1807, but a rising Austrian nationalism, fostered by younger leaders like the Archduke Charles and the Empress of Austria, caused him again to turn attention to his inveterate enemy. Austria fought her war for liberation alone, although Russia favored her and England furnished subsidies. Although the French army contained thousands of untried recruits, Napoleon, with characteristic acumen, led them into Bavaria, forced out the Archduke Charles, and, within a month, was again in Vienna. Two indecisive battles (Essling and Aspern) caused terrific losses for both combatants; the Battle of Wagram resulted in the defeat of the archduke. The discouraged Austrian emperor obtained an armistice after this engagement and, on October 14, 1809, the Treaty of Vienna, or Schönbrunn, accomplished a

definitive peace. By the treaty, Austria lost Trieste, Galicia, Salzburg, and other regions. She was forced to break her English alliance and to adhere to the Continental System. The consolidation of Polish Galicia with the Grand Duchy of Warsaw appeared to Czar Alexander as but a step in the re-creation of an independent Poland and therefore served to estrange Russia before Napoleon was prepared for the loss of his nominal ally.

The establishment of the Empire had created one problem for which Napoleon had found no solution. He believed that sovereignty ought of right to descend from father to son; he had, as yet, no direct heirs. He determined to divorce his creole wife and negotiate a dynastic marriage with one of the oldest ruling families in Europe. He first made a diplomatic request for the hand of the czar's young sister and then hurriedly arranged marriage terms with the Austrian emperor for the hand of his daughter, Marie Louise. Thus was a princess sacrificed to afford Austria a brief breathing spell. The divorce was hurriedly arranged; Josephine was sent to Malmaison, and the marriage to Marie Louise took place on April 1, 1810. The marriage added prestige to Napoleon's rule and resulted in the birth of a son during the spring of 1811. At last the Corsican could feel secure in the permanence of his civil and military conquests.

The multifarious ramifications of the Continental System had forced Napoleon to intervene in the affairs of the Iberian peninsula. As early as 1807, in the secret treaty of Fontainebleau, he had made arrangements with Spain for the conquest and partition of England's traditional ally Portugal. A French army, under Junot, did attempt the conquest of that country, but the royal family succeeded in escaping to Brazil. Governmental affairs in Spain now gave Napoleon an excuse to intervene. The government of Spain was in the hands of the incompetent Charles IV, his immoral queen, and her unscrupulous paramour, Godoy. A family quarrel involving these three and Crown Prince Ferdinand gave Napoleon the opportunity he desired, for he induced them, one by one, to abdicate after a display of force and characteristic diplomatic skill. In June, 1808,

Joseph Bonaparte was made king of Spain. Napoleon's brother-in-law, Murat, became king of Naples in Joseph's place.

Spain, however, rose in a nationalistic revolt before Joseph was comfortably seated on his new throne and this rebellion against foreign rule lasted until the end of the Bonapartist regime. The wasteful expenditure of thousands of tried French veterans against the guerilla attacks of the Spanish patriots proved Napoleon's undoing, for these troops were badly needed elsewhere. An important factor in the eventual defeat of the French in Spain was the leadership of Sir Arthur Wellesley, later Duke of Wellington. French liberalism and revolutionary ideals took shallow root in Spain. Napoleon's decrees of 1808 abolishing the inquisition, the feudal system, and internal customs, and the limitation on the number of monasteries and convents were to have been the basis of other general reforms, but these the French were unable to enforce. The Spaniards themselves promulgated a liberal document, known as the Constitution of 1812, which served the rebels as a charter of government until Ferdinand VII was placed on the throne in 1814. This Constitution of 1812 was to serve as the basis of still other revolutionary struggles.

The estrangement between the czar and Napoleon had become marked by 1810. Differences with regard to Poland, Turkey, and the Far East, as well as Russia's rôle in the enforcement of the Continental System, served to aggravate the quarrel between the two rulers so that military and diplomatic preparations were made for inevitable conflict. Prussia was unwillingly forced into an alliance with Napoleon, and Austria, too, agreed to support him. Sweden, under Bernadotte's control, and England allied themselves with Russia. In the summer of 1812, Napoleon, with the largest force ever under his command, began his invasion of Russia. All told, effectives and reserves numbered over 500,000, of a score of nationalities. The emperor planned to march straight from Königsberg towards Moscow, going into winter quarters at Smolensk, about two-thirds of the way. The Russians continued to retreat before the moving French columns and declined to engage in the pitched

battle Napoleon so much desired. Since he had not met the enemy in sufficient numbers to inflict a decisive defeat, he continued on instead of wintering at Smolensk. A bloody but indecisive battle was fought at Borodino; it opened the way into Moscow which Napoleon found deserted and in flames. The czar still refused to negotiate and Napoleon finally gave the order to retreat. The disastrous flight, one of the most terrible in the annals of warfare, was made in the dead of a Russian winter; the survivors numbered less than 100,000 emaciated men.

Napoleon had left his army, in early December, for a hurried return by sledge to Paris. Official censorship and falsified reports minimized the extent of the disaster. Prussians and Austrians had an opportunity to observe the veterans returning to France and these two nations came to an early appreciation of the fact that the great Napoleon was no longer invulnerable. With full knowledge of the disadvantage the Russian debacle entailed, the emperor began preparations for renewing the conflict in the spring. Prussia, meanwhile, had been making extensive preparations against this day.

The basis for a German uprising had been laid by Fichte, who in 1807 began preaching German nationalism, based on her historic past. The work of arousing national consciousness was eagerly taken up and ably expounded by the professors in the German universities, especially in the newly founded University of Berlin. Idealistic reformers like Fichte, Niebuhr, Humbolt, and Savigny were ably seconded by more practical men. Outstanding in this group was the Baron Stein, whose reforms served to put virility into the Prussian government. Military reforms were accomplished through the intelligent efforts of Scharnhorst so that a national army, made up of huge inactive reserves, was created within a short time, despite the Napoleonic restriction on the size of the active Prussian force.

These preparations culminated in the Prussian declaration of war against France, March 17, 1813. This was to be the German war of liberation. In its beginning, it was marked by a patriotic appeal to the people by Frederick William and an aroused public resentment against foreign domination. Metternich meanwhile broke the Franco-

Austrian Alliance of 1810, and announced that henceforth, Austria would act as an armed neutral, ready to mediate with force, if need arose. The fighting began in Saxony where Napoleon defeated the Prussians and Russians at Lützen, and again at Bautzen. An armistice was arranged following this engagement. During the lull, news arrived of a French defeat in Spain. Austria, after having dallied with her policy of armed mediation, then entered the war. The concentrated forces of the two opposing armies totalled nearly 1,000,000 men. Napoleon's plans were well laid, but he and his subordinates erred in executing them; after this last victory at Dresden, his "star" rapidly fell. Finally, in the famous and decisive Battle of Leipzig, known generally as the Battle of the Nations (October 16-19), Napoleon met irretrievable disaster. Thus was Germany liberated, the Confederation of the Rhine left without a "protector."

Eventually Holland was invaded; Wellington continued in Southern France; Northern Italy was reconquered; and the major allied forces were camped on the Rhine. Metternich offered peace on terms of the "natural boundaries of France," but when Napoleon hedged, he appealed to the French nation to accept a reasonable peace which their ruler had declined. Thus was Bonaparte's support further undermined at home. Early in 1814, three allied armies entered France. With a small and mobile force, Napoleon fought the most brilliant defensive campaign of his career. Near the end of this campaign, Lord Castlereagh of England obtained the allied signatures to a treaty in which they agreed to make no separate peace. Late in March, Paris fell and Napoleon's day was over. On April 11, he abdicated and, in accordance with the Treaty of Fontainebleau of the same date, was exiled, with the title of emperor, to the island of Elba. From his island, Napoleon watched the diplomatic squabble going on at the Congress of Vienna and, through old friends, felt the pulse of a France, again under the rule of a Bourbon (Louis XVIII). He took a long chance when, on March 1, 1815, he arrived in France and began a march towards Paris. Soldiers sent to arrest him joined their old commander;

within three weeks, Louis XVIII thought it expedient to leave the capital. The Congress of Vienna outlawed the returned emperor and the allied armies girded themselves for a last and decisive conflict with the great opportunist. The engagement took place south of Brussels, near Waterloo, on June 18, 1815. Wellington received reinforcements from Blücher; Napoleon failed to receive any from Grouchy and again was forced to abdicate. Unable to escape, he surrendered to the captain of an English vessel and on it was transported to Saint Helena, where he died in lonely exile (May 5, 1821). There he took revenge on his enemies by occupying himself in the dictation of his memoirs which became the source of the "Napoleonic Legend," a legend so strong that in its name, another Bonaparte was one day to rule France.

BOOK FIVE
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

XVIII

THE CONSERVATIVE REACTION

A quarter century of warfare and twenty years of military dictatorship had bred in the hearts and minds of European peoples a longing for lasting peace and for economic, political, and social security. This desire achieved form in the "Conservative Reaction." The French Revolution had enunciated a new political faith; Napoleonic imperialism had widely disseminated its doctrines of "liberty, equality, and fraternity." The post-Napoleonic period was but a continuation of the struggle between liberals and conservatives, between revolutionaries and reactionaries, except that during this era conservative and reactionary principles were in the ascendency. High priest of the reaction was the Austrian minister, Prince Metternich, after whom this generation has often been named.

The problems facing continental rulers, after the Napoleonic abdication in 1814, were multiple and of extreme gravity for the preservation of the peace of Europe. Business man and peasant were even more anxious than politician and statesman to establish permanent peace. In this manner alone could the farmer and the laborer, the storekeeper and the professional man hope to achieve prosperity and social security. In France, especially, there was opposition to conscription of man power and a pronounced unwillingness to sacrifice further the lives and resources of the nation. Support for the continuance of Napoleon's schemes of an imperialistic nature had become extremely meager. Twenty-five years of warfare with the constant shifting of international alliances, had bred so much distrust, dissension, and jealousy, even among the allies, that acceptable terms of peace were arranged with extreme difficulty. The problem was not merely one of settling accounts with France, but of satisfying, as well, the many issues in dispute between the allies.

The re-establishment of a new balance of power became a major aim of the diplomats of the period.

Beginning with his first Italian campaign, Napoleon had entered on a diplomatic policy, the chief function of which was the rearrangement of European boundaries with the view to ultimate unification of all the nations of the Continent under one hierarchical ruler. He had two major fields of endeavor in this regard, Italy and Germany. By depriving Austria, the papacy, and a number of independent princes of their possessions in Italy, he had brought the peninsula under French control, thus wiping out numerous boundary lines. In Germany he had consolidated South Germany into the Conferation of the Rhine and united a portion of it in the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Thus, he eliminated numerous free cities, minor principalities, and duchies, and created in their stead larger and more integrated states. The diffusion of French revolutionary ideals into the various conquered regions had altered their old institutions and had introduced new ones into their political structure. This was done in a manner which created the question of whether they should be retained wholly or in part, or be abolished. The Napoleonic arrangements with the papacy had created further problems, as had his educational system. The abrogation of the feudal system left open the question of its possible revival.

Allied diplomats weighed several possible solutions of the French problem. Some saw no objection to the restoration of Napoleon, if proper safeguards were placed on his powers. Metternich favored the recognition of the Prince of Rome, Napoleon's infant son, as Napoleon II, under a regency. Still others proposed that Marie Louise be permitted to continue as Empress of France. Some hoped that a constitutional government would be established; whether it be limited monarchy or republic depended on the particular exponent of the policy. The solution finally arrived at, however, was the restoration of the Bourbons, in the person of Louis XVI's brother, the Count of Provence, who became Louis XVIII. Credit for the restoration, if credit can be given, is due Talleyrand, who organized demonstrations in favor of the Bourbon claimant and did his utmost,

as head of the provisional government, to promote the cause of the legitimists. The English diplomat, Castlereagh, favored the policy and Metternich acceded to this solution of the problem in order to thwart the czar who, at the time, favored placing Bernadotte, Crown Prince of Sweden, on the French throne. It was a matter of accepting the least unsatisfactory solution to a difficult problem. It must be noted that there was little or no popular enthusiasm for the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty.

In the establishment of peace, two major treaty arrangements must be considered. The first of these was the Treaty of Paris (May 30, 1814), and the second, the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna (June 9, 1815). By the Treaty of Paris, the victorious allies, with commendable moderation, forced France to resume her boundaries as of January 1, 1792, except for a part of Savoy and some territory in Northeast France. The revolutionary and Napoleonic conquests of some thirty million people were relinquished. Holland was returned to the House of Orange. Austria, by giving up her claims to the former Austrian Netherlands, gained title to Lombardy and Venetia in North Italy. A loose German Confederation or "Bund," to take the place of the Confederation of the Rhine, was sponsored by Metternich and recognized under the treaty. Genoa was ceded to Sardinia. The treaty recognized that these arrangements did not comprise a full settlement and provided for the convocation of a congress of the powers to draw up a definitive peace. Thus was the Congress of Vienna brought into being.

The Congress of Vienna may be said to have begun September 15, 1814; it lasted until the date of the Final Act. Its primary function was to divide the spoils and to announce the division of territory to the rest of Europe. The term "congress" gives an erroneous impression of this meeting, for there was no joint opening session in which all the delegates were assembled; there were no plenary sessions, but rather a series of meetings between the representatives of the various powers either in called meetings or at social affairs. On such occasions, the particular question in dispute was argued and settled by the diplomats of the countries concerned.

Each agreement, then, was a separate arrangement. The summary of all these various treaties was called the Final Act. The Treaty of Paris had obliged France, by a secret clause, to accede to all decisions handed down by the four great powers, England, Prussia, Russia, and Austria. The representatives of these nations were known as the "Big Four"; Castlereagh for Great Britain, Metternich for Austria, Hardenberg for Prussia, and Nesselrode for Russia. The presence of the colorful Czar Alexander served to minimize the importance of his young minister so that he is the least known of the group. By previous agreement, the Polish, Italian, and German settlements were to be arranged in the councils of the "Big Four." The congress was a brilliant gathering in which the princes and ex-princes of all Europe found alternate hope and fear. Some aimed merely to retain their positions, some to regain what they had lost, but, through it all, they maintained a social life which led to the phrase, "Congress dances." A policy of settling affairs on the basis of legitimacy was announced; that is, whatever had been established by Napoleon was illegitimate. That which had been in existence before the Revolution was legitimate. It is hardly necessary to say that there was scant adherence to the "legitimacy rule."

Certain questions gave rise to acrimonious disputes among the representatives of the powers. Russia and Prussia came to an agreement concerning the disposition of Poland, outside the councils of the congress. The arrangement was to the effect that the Russian demand for all Poland would be recognized by Prussia in return for Russian support in gaining Saxony for Prussia. England and Austria were unalterably opposed to this disposition of Polish territory. When it appeared that Prussia and Russia were prepared to go to war with the other two nations of the "Big Four," Talleyrand, the representative of France, stepped into the diplomatic breach and forced his way into the councils of the allies in so adroit a manner that he gained for France a negotiated, rather than an imposed, peace. This diplomatic *coup,* accomplished by the wily French minister, proved a major blessing to France.

In the final settlement, Poland was joined in a personal union with Russia. The czar thus became king of Poland. Of her former Polish possessions, Prussia retained only Posen. Cracow was made a free city. Prussia received indemnification for giving up her Polish territorial claims by receiving almost half the territory of Saxony. This action was condoned on the ground that the king of Saxony had been overly partial to Napoleon and deserved some punishment. It will be seen that the Prussian-Russian agreement was substantially fulfilled, in spite of English and Austrian opposition. The disposition of a portion of Saxony is an interesting illustration of the failure of the congress to adhere to the principle of legitimacy. The kingdom of Saxony remained, although depleted in territory and population. It was able to retain both Dresden and Leipzig. Sweden gave up Pomerania to Prussia and was given compensation in another part of Europe.

A Rhineland barrier was created to protect Germany against future French aggression by the erection of three contiguous buffer regions. The Kingdom of the Netherlands was established by the unification of Holland and the former Austrian Netherlands. Farther up the Rhine, territory was turned over to Prussia; still farther up, a neutralized and expanded Switzerland was created. The addition of Belgium to the Dutch possessions of the House of Orange was partial indemnification for the loss of the Cape of Good Hope to England. Austrian relinquishment of the Netherlands was compensated by the addition of Lombardy, Venetia, and Dalmatia to her territory in North Italy, as well as the Tyrol.

Austrian control of Lombardy-Venetia, added to the fact that Parma, Modena, and Tuscany were placed under rulers willing to accept Austrian domination in the Italian peninsula, gave Austria complete supremacy in North Italy. The arrangement satisfied England, since French control of the Mediterranean need no longer be feared. The Papal States were restored to the church. England gained no continental territory, but got the Island of Malta, the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, Saint Lucia, Tobago, and Trinidad, and was made protector of the Ionian Islands. These English

acquisitions served to extend and to reinforce her trade routes, especially the "life line" to India. Russia was assured of control over Finland in return for the loss of which Sweden received Norway. The Braganzas, in Brazilian exile, were restored to the Portuguese throne. The Bourbons, Louis XVIII and Ferdinand VII, were restored in France and Spain. In both instances, the returning monarchs agreed to some form of constitutional government; the promise was repudiated in Spain. About the sole liberal pronouncement of the Congress of Vienna was a declaration making slave trading piracy.

Metternich has been mentioned as the outstanding exponent of the conservative movement with which the Congress of Vienna stamped the following century. His was no blind conservatism, however, for he realized that if nationalism, republicanism, and liberal thought were permitted to thrive in an empire like Austria, its diverse racial and cultural groups would soon make it a political nonentity in the councils of Europe. As a consequence, he was the strongest proponent of a loosely confederated Germany, under Austrian domination, as opposed to nationalistic aspirations for a strongly united Germany, voiced by the capable Baron Stein. Throughout the congress, the rôle of Castlereagh was that of mediator. He, of all the diplomats, was most interested in the creation of a balance of power between the nations of Europe. To gain support for his aims, he obtained the admission of Talleyrand to the councils of the "Big Four." His whole aim, however, was not that of an enlightened statesman, but of a preserver of England's commercial and naval supremacy. Like Metternich, he succeeded. Hardenberg had been exposed to liberal influences, through his connections with Stein, but when face to face with the problems of the congress, he worked for Prussian aggrandizement, rather than for the creation of a united Germany. The most liberal spirit at the congress was Czar Alexander, but he, too, kept his own nation's aspirations closer to his heart than those of the world in general. His insistence on Russian acquisition of all Poland frustrated

whatever influence his pronouncements, based on more humanitarian motives, might have exerted.

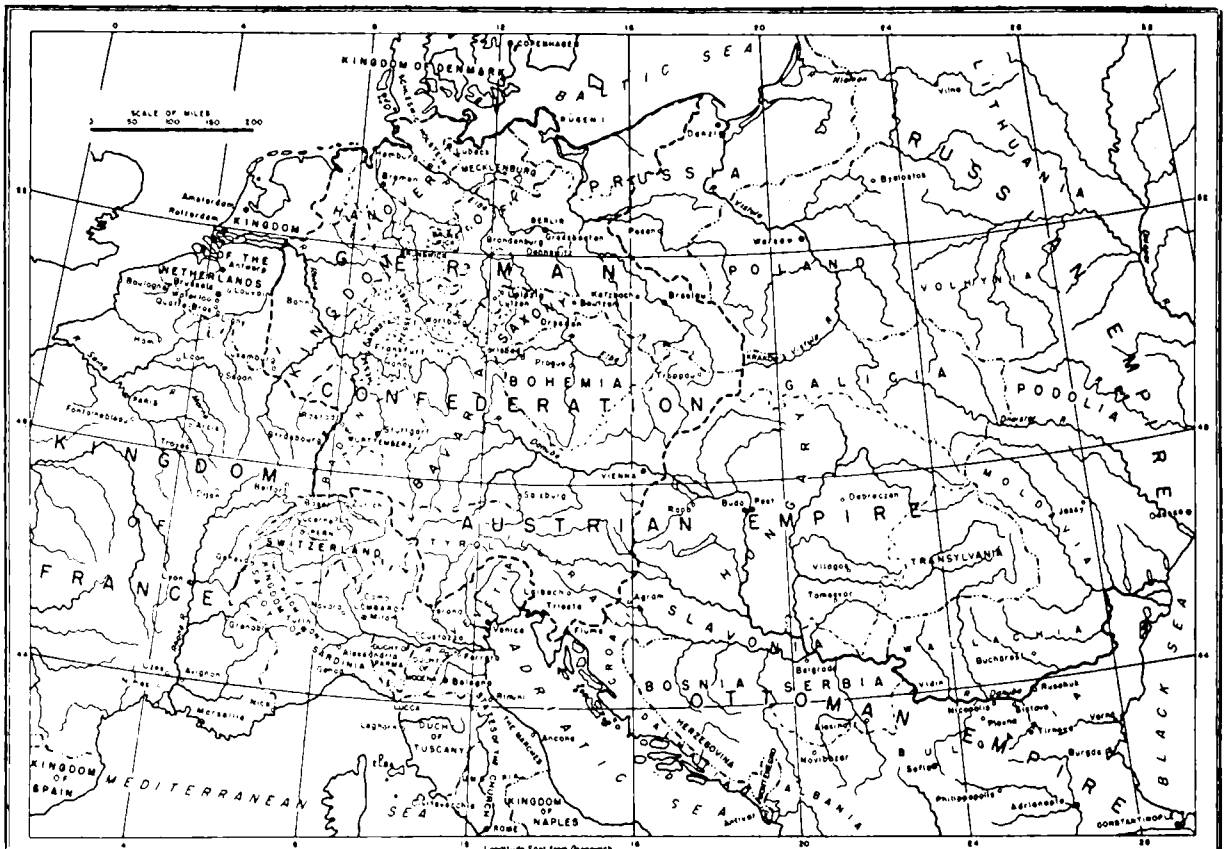
When news reached the notables at Vienna that Napoleon had escaped and was back in France, he was outlawed (March 13, 1814), and the "Big Four" agreed to keep their armies in operation against him until he was no longer capable of creating a disturbance. With the final abdication of Napoleon, the Prussians and Austrians demanded that France be reduced to the rôle of a minor European power, but the good sense and calmer counsels of Castlereagh and the czar prevailed. The Second Treaty of Paris reduced French territory to the boundaries of 1789 and imposed an indemnity of 700,000,000 francs, to be paid within five years. It also established an army of occupation in Northeastern France. It would appear that France escaped with her European position practically intact and received a most moderate punishment.

The Congress of Vienna had created a new map of Europe much as Napoleon had done. The factors most potent in accomplishing this result had been fear of further French aggression, the desire of the victors for territorial additions, and the hope of the allies to restore affairs in Europe to a condition approaching that which existed prior to the outbreak of the French Revolution and the disturbing years of Napoleon's supremacy. The decisions which the congress forced upon a war-weary Europe provided the basis for a century of dispute between liberal and conservative factions. The long range consequences of the work of the congress resulted in what may be considered a failure to achieve its aspirations. This was due to several outstanding blunders, among them, the failure of the plenipotentiaries to take into account the nationalistic spirit of the peoples about whom they drew boundary lines. In fact, territory was divided among the victors without thought of the people. The German nationalists, the Poles, the Italians, the Norwegians, the Belgians, and the Finns, were all dissatisfied with the disposition of their countries. Especially was this the case in Germany. When Napoleon destroyed the Holy Roman Empire and reduced some 300 states to less than forty in order to create the Confederation

of the Rhine, he took a major step towards ultimate unification of Germany. Metternich's sponsorship of the loosely confederated "Bund" had defeated the next logical step in the evolution of a unified German people.

The adoption of conservative political policies was accompanied by religious reaction. The best example of the force of this spiritual movement is to be found in the expression given it by the pronouncement of the czar that he would henceforth rule Russia in keeping with the teachings of Christianity. Some of the powers adhered to a treaty to this effect; some merely acceded to the principles the czar had outlined. More practical statesmen than the mystical czar looked on this Holy Alliance as but a statement of well-intentioned ideals having no force whatsoever. The Holy Alliance is of importance in that it was and still is confused in the minds of many with the effective political and military alliance between England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia which was but a continuation of the allies' anti-Napoleonic military co-operation. This is properly called the Quadruple Alliance. Three years later (1818), France was admitted to the group which then became the Quintuple Alliance. The purpose behind this arrangement was the preservation of the *status quo* as of 1815. The agreement included the stipulation that periodic congresses be held; the chief sponsor of such meetings was to be Metternich. It was intended that this league of reactionary governments should curb future French aggressions and resist all attempts to foment popular uprisings. Thus was machinery of intervention and repression created, which needed but the slightest excuse to go into action. Metternich made himself the watchdog of Europe, ever prepared to strike down rebellion, liberalism, and attempts to establish constitutional governments.

The Austrian minister's influence over Frederick William III of Prussia gave him an opportunity to exert restraint over the liberal and nationalistic movement in Germany. Considerable disappointment was felt because of the failure of the diplomats at Vienna to provide for a unified Germany. When Napoleon returned from Elba, the Prussian king had further aggravated the situation by



EUROPE AFTER THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

promising constitutional reforms in return for additional military forces and then had failed to keep his promise. During the early period of the German nationalistic movement, secret societies like the *Tugenbund* had been formed for the purpose of enhancing the patriotic fervor of the people. Mention has already been made of the part men like Fichte, Scharnhorst, and Stein played in this movement, as well as university professors like Niebuhr, Humbolt, Savigny, and others. Students who had fought in the War of Liberation for idealistic and patriotic motives found by 1815 that their efforts had been in vain, despite allied successes.

Thus it was that a group of serious-minded former soldiers, in attendance at the University of Jena, founded, in that year, a patriotic society which they called the *Burschenschaft.* It was a secret order, favoring a united Germany, with the slogan, "honor, liberty, fatherland." The movement spread to other universities and in 1817, the various chapters held a congress at Wartburg. The place and date had a significance, for it was the three hundredth anniversary of the posting of Luther's famous ninety-five theses, as well as the anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig. The congress was intrinsically a rather inconsequential affair. Some speakers did point out that the German War of Liberation had failed to gain its purpose, but the temper of the speakers was, on the whole, moderate. A few of the less responsible spirits held an impromptu bonfire in which they burned several books, among them, a history of Germany written by Kotzebue, who was looked upon as a Russian spy. The importance of the so-called Wartburg Festival lies not so much in what was done, but in the effect which falsified and exaggerated reports of the affair had on powerful conservatives like Metternich.

A belief persisted that a widespread conspiracy against the established regime existed which was no longer confined to student societies. At Metternich's insistence, a harsh policy of repression was begun. This was a deciding factor in making the *Burschenschaft* a dangerous organization. One unbalanced member took it into his head to assassinate the publicist, Kotzebue, with the result that such methods of direct action were generally regarded in conservative

circles as typical of the motives of the secret student order. There was quickly established a strict surveillance over student activities, over professors in the lecture room as well as in their writings. At Metternich's dictation, it was made a crime even to express the desire for a constitution in Germany. These repressive measures were correlated in the famous Carlsbad Decrees of 1819. These dissolved the *Burschenschaft,* set up an inquisitorial commission to ferret out revolutionary societies and activities, and established censorship on the press and the expressions of individuals. The dissolution of the society proved the foundation for dozens more like it, though of a more radical and less responsible nature.

Metternich's policy of repression and intervention came to grips with a serious situation when, some five years after the Congress of Vienna, revolution raised its head around the borders of the Mediterranean. Since the days of Napoleonic intervention in Spain, there had been distress in the peninsula. Ferdinand VII had been restored by the congress, but his promise to maintain the liberal constitution of 1812 had been broken almost as soon as he assumed power. Instead, he had begun a major war of persecution against all liberals. When an expedition was ordered to America to subdue revolting colonists, the soldiers, ordered to service so far from home, rebelled. Their companions in arms throughout Spain took up the banner of revolt and the king was forced again to subscribe to the constitution. Revolution soon assumed epidemic proportions, for when Spain's neighbors saw how successful the revolt had been, they attempted to emulate the Iberian patriots. Revolt broke out in Portugal, Naples, and eventually Greece.

The proximity of the Neopolitan revolt to Austrian territory gave Metternich the necessary excuse for calling a congress of the powers adhering to the Quintuple Alliance. A first congress met at Troppau in 1820; another assembled at Laibach in the following year and a third met at Verona in 1822. Austria was authorized to intervene for the suppression of the revolt in Naples, a task which was easily accomplished in 1821. A French army was commissioned to restore Ferdinand to absolute power in Spain (1823). It is to be noted that

the royal armies of France were much more successful in forcing conservatism on Spain than the liberalizing Napoleonic forces in the preceding decades. When the Spanish king asked similar aid in restoring his revolted colonies in the New World, the new English minister, Canning, protested and opposed the plan on the ground that it would be detrimental to Great Britain's commercial interests. His views were partially acceptable to the United States and were incorporated, as a basic expression of American foreign policy, in the now famous Monroe Doctrine (1823). This document announced the opposition of the United States to European intervention in the Americas and, with several important additions and reinterpretations, remains the foundation stone of American foreign policy to this day.

The many restrictions which the Congress of Vienna and the reactionary policies of the Age of Metternich saddled on the liberties of the people of Europe served to breed discontent. Harsh and repressive measures instigated increased activity in the development and dissemination of republican and democratic idealism. Further revolutionary activity was inevitable, for those ideals to which the French Revolution had given birth had taken deep root. Coupled with this factor was the growing nationalism in those countries and regions which had been parcelled out at the Congress of Vienna without thought of racial, linguistic, or geographic boundaries. The policy of conservatism and reaction with which Metternich sowed a war-weary Europe was to yield a fulsome harvest of revolution.

XIX

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

History is the story of change. Although change is constantly occurring, its rate varies. In some periods change is gradual, almost imperceptible; in others, transition is so rapid and significant as to constitute a veritable revolution. The Renaissance and Reformation engendered changes of great magnitude, yet these movements produced few alterations in the living conditions of the masses. Society remained primarily agricultural; the decline of feudalism and serfdom brought no commensurate change in agricultural techniques. Industry still operated under the gild or outwork system, utilizing methods that in some cases were employed in prehistoric times. The masses were still ignorant and superstitious; archaic means of communication inevitably fostered provincialism. The Industrial Revolution, on the other hand, brought changes that profoundly affected all strata of society in every civilized country of the world; it was doubtless one of the most significant movements in history.

The economic changes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were manifested in agricultural improvements, improvements in communications, the entrenchment of capitalism, and the emergence of the modern factory. The essence of the Industrial Revolution, however, was technological advance. A series of inventions, in large measure the fruit of discoveries in theoretical science, made possible large-scale production and the concentration of industry in factories. Expanded production by machinery lowered prices, increased consumption, and eventually raised the standard of living of the masses. The factory meant regimentation, and often untrammeled exploitation, of workers, thus creating social problems of the utmost significance.

The factory was born in an age wherein economic thinking was dominated by the doctrines of *laissez faire*. Free competition was the shibboleth; governments were to abstain from regulatory activities that characterized the age of mercantilism. The relations of employer and employee were no concern of government; labor acquired a commodity status and, as such, was subject to the operations of presumably immutable economic laws. Employment was an agreement mutually entered into by worker and industrialist; the former accepted conditions of employment theoretically on his own volition; wages, hours, and other essential features were consequently not within the province of governmental regulation. Workers lost all semblance of independence. Recurrent unemployment, precipitated by factors they could neither understand nor control, brought dire want. Industrial accidents exacted a terrible toll; chronic illness, engendered by barbarous working conditions, was an even greater peril. Unscrupulous employers, secure in an atmosphere of governmental indifference, exploited women and children in mine and factory. Towns and cities grew rapidly without plan or regulation; slum areas, with their squalor and degradation, were the inevitable result.

Class distinctions immeasurably widened. Those with the capital to purchase machines reaped huge fortunes; the workers received a niggardly share of the profits. Rich and poor, employer and worker, stood in sharp, often hideous, contrast. Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and others saw in this conflict of interest the basic interpretation of history. Class conflict, they held, would increase in virulence until solidarity of the workers would be sufficiently achieved to make feasible the establishment of the proletarian state.

The Industrial Revolution was basically the resultant of the augmented demand for articles of manufacture precipitated by the commercial expansion and the advance in theoretical science which began in the age of the Renaissance. While it is true that empiricism produced inventions such as the cotton gin and spinning jenny, in many instances, practical application was the culmination of research in pure science. The experiments of Boyle, Black, and

Joule laid the foundation for the steam engine. Chemical research was a prelude to revolutionary changes in the steel industry.

England took the lead in the mechanization of industry. She had forged ahead in the commercial expansion of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with the result that capital had been accumulated. The gilds, with their conservatism and inflexible restrictions, had yielded to the outwork system. There were many swift streams to furnish power, prior to the invention of the steam engine. Adequate supplies of coal and iron, in convenient proximity, were an enormous advantage, especially after the utilization of steam power. English industry produced staple commodities such as textiles; this type of industry was much better adapted for mechanization than the "luxury" industries of France. England was immune from the ravages of the Napoleonic wars; indeed, the wars accentuated the demand for manufactured products. Its government was more liberal than those of continental powers. The upper middle class was represented in Parliament and consequently was in a position to secure the adoption of policies conducive to the advancement of its interests. Property rights and contractual obligations had adequate legal foundation; extortionate taxation and arbitrary restrictions on trade were precluded by the nature of the government. Patent laws were sufficiently developed to afford a modicum of protection to inventors, yet inventors of epoch-making machines sometimes were defrauded of their just reward. The eighteenth century was marked by great popular interest in mechanical devices. There were societies for the promotion of invention, institutes for the study of practical science, and periodicals for the dissemination of scientific knowledge.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the textile industry had reached a stage where the number of properly qualified weavers and other artisans was inadequate to raise production to the level of demand. There was, however, plenty of unskilled labor, largely because of the agricultural changes of the eighteenth century. Jethro Tull (1674-1740) had introduced the cultivation of clover and turnips in land hitherto allowed to lie fallow; his seed drill

likewise was a great advance. Lord Townshend had applied these innovations on a large scale. Robert Bakewell's experiments in stock breeding led to a rapid expansion of cattle raising, with a consequent increase in enclosures. The enhanced productivity of agriculture led to the displacement of a large portion of the yeomanry who could not meet the competition of large estates.

The textile industry was the first to be mechanized. England had been the leading source of wool in the Middle Ages, and, with the immigration of Flemish weavers, she soon attained equal importance in the manufacture of woolen cloth. Cotton fabrics became popular by the eighteenth century; the acquisition of most of India afforded an adequate supply of the fibre. Those interested in the woolen industry for a time obstructed manufacture of cotton fabrics through parliamentary restrictions. Importation of cotton fabrics was forbidden; since the demand for them did not abate, the prohibition served to encourage domestic manufacture. In 1736 an act of Parliament legalized the weaving of cotton cloth, provided a flax warp was used in conjunction with a cotton weft. All restrictions on the industry were removed, however, by an act of 1774.

The introduction of the stocking frame by the Lombe brothers in 1589 heralded the coming revolution in the textile industry, but mechanization made no marked progress until the invention of the flying shuttle in 1733. Prior to this invention, the weaver pushed the shuttle, carrying the weft, back and forth across the warp. Where the warp was more than three-quarters of a yard wide, a weaver on each side of the loom was requisite. Thomas Kay devised an ingenious appliance which employed a spring-propelled hammer to knock the shuttle back across the warp; when the weaver threw the shuttle across the warp it was automatically returned. A serious dislocation of the textile industry was precipitated by the invention. Weavers could produce cloth much faster than thread could be supplied. There was a great demand for a spinning machine that could restore equilibrium.

Wyatt and Paul experimented with machines to replace the age-old spinning wheel. Although they were unsuccessful, some of

THE BRITISH ISLES

their ideas were incorporated in later devices. The first successful machine was the spinning jenny, invented by James Hargreaves (1764). The machine utilized a wheel and belt to drive eight spindles simultaneously; successive improvements greatly increased its efficiency. The problem of thread production, however, was not fully solved; the jenny spun only coarse, loose thread which had to be made more durable by the admixture of flax. The water frame, introduced by Richard Arkwright, who derived the basic ideas from others, remedied these difficulties. The skeins were run through two sets of rollers, the second of which rotated faster than the first. The yarn was thus drawn out preparatory to spinning, with the result that a much finer and tougher thread was produced. The machine was too cumbersome to be turned by hand; the application of water power gave the name *water frame* to the device. Arkwright installed several of these machines and employed a number of hands to operate them; his establishment was probably the first true factory.

Crompton's mule, invented about 1779, was a still greater advance. In this machine the strands were pulled and twisted preparatory to spinning. All these operations were performed in a continuous process. Great interest was aroused in efforts to invent a power loom. Prizes were offered and other inducements extended, but it was not until 1787 that Edmund Cartwright, a clergyman of Kent, perfected a loom that could be operated by water power. The machine did not displace the hand looms to a great extent. It was not until the improved Harrock's loom was made and sold by Sharp and Roberts (1822) that the hand loom yielded to the machine, with consequent distress among the artisans whose services hitherto had been in great demand.

Calicoes could not be made on a large scale as long as block printing was necessary. The invention of a method of printing by rollers cheapened these fabrics enormously. Improved methods of dyeing and the discovery of the bleaching properties of chlorine were other factors that gave great impetus to the cotton industry. By 1835 England was producing 63 per cent of the world's output.

The utilization of water power imposed definite limits on the expansion of the textile industry. Available power could not be augmented while location of the factories was prescribed by the necessity of relying on rapid streams. There was imperative need for a mechanical prime mover that would free industry from these restrictions.

The steam engine inaugurated a new epoch in industrial progress. Engines which utilized the condensation of steam to create a partial vacuum were used to pump water out of mines as early as the seventeenth century. The Savery and Newcomer engines also applied the condensation principle. James Watt, an instrument maker at the University of Glasgow, devised an engine wherein the expansive force of steam was applied directly to the piston head. He took out his first patent in 1769. In the first engine the steam pressure drove the piston in one direction; it returned by its momentum. In later models Watt used the reciprocating principle; that is, both forward and backward movements of the piston were steam propelled. The inventor also discovered the principle that the efficiency of the engine was dependent upon the difference of the temperature before and after condensation of the steam. In the first engines, valves were opened and closed by hand; small boys were employed to perform this task. This method was, of course, too cumbersome; Watt therefore added a camshaft to open and close intake and exhaust valves in proper rhythm. Since the inventor did not have the capital to build engines commercially, he entered into a partnership with Matthew Boulton in 1773. A shop was established near Birmingham and engines then were built to order.

Increase in the size and power of steam engines was made possible by improvements in the iron and steel industries. For centuries iron had been smelted with charcoal; by the period of the Industrial Revolution shortage of wood constituted a serious problem. Dudley experimented with coal as early as 1619 without success, but by 1710, Darby successfully employed coke in the smelting process. In 1760, furnaces which used rotary fans for the air blast, instead of the bellows, were in use. The invention

of the puddling process by Onions and Cort, in 1783, was a great advance. The wrought iron produced by this method was less brittle and had greater tensile strength than the ordinary cast iron and consequently was used for the construction of engines.

Large scale production of steel began with the invention of the Bessemer converter (c. 1850). A blast of hot air was blown into the molten iron. Eight years later Karl Siemens invented the open hearth process wherein the furnace was charged with pig iron, scrap, coke, and nickel or manganese to control hardness. A blast of hot air reduced these substances to a molten state; impurities were drawn off as slag or gas. The molten steel then was tapped from the bottom.

Industrial expansion was facilitated by the revolutionary changes in transportation that made possible economical marketing of the products of the new industry. Seventeenth century roads were veritable quagmires, infested with highwaymen. The English Turnpike Acts of 1663 authorized the private construction of roads and the collection of tolls for their use, but there was little improvement. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, however, Metcalf, McAdam, and others introduced grading and hard-surfacing. These innovations gradually became general. By the close of the century large urban centers were linked by fairly satisfactory roads. The same period was marked by the construction of canals. The Duke of Bridgewater was a pioneer in this development. The engineering skill of James Brindley solved many of the problems incident to canal building. The invention of the steam locomotive by George Stephenson began an era of railroad construction. The Stockton and Darlington was opened in 1825; by 1830, the London and Birmingham was completed.

Experiments with steam-propelled boats were conducted by Papin in 1690 and Hulls in 1736. John Fitch demonstrated a satisfactory vessel, which utilized a crude screw propeller instead of the usual paddle wheel. Surprisingly little interest was evinced in the steamboat until the successful runs of Robert Fultons' *Clermont* (1807). In 1819, the *Savannah,* a sailing vessel equipped with an auxiliary

engine, crossed the Atlantic largely on steam power. Nineteen years later the *Sirius* and the *Great Western* made the crossing entirely on steam power in eighteen and fifteen days respectively. The following year the Cunard steamship line was established.

EFFECTS OF THE REVOLUTION

The mechanization of industry and the developments in transport made possible the cheap production of goods with commensurate cheapening in price. Production soon threatened to outstrip consumption, since few industrialists were sufficiently enlightened to recognize the need for high wages if domestic purchasing power was to keep pace with the expanded output of the factories. Demand for new markets was largely responsible for the revival of imperialism during the nineteenth century.

Population increased rapidly, leading Malthus to utter his dire prophecy of the ultimate inability of the world to afford economic support. Ricardo noted a tendency of workers' families to increase rapidly in periods of general prosperity and held that this would inexorably depress wages to a subsistence level. There was a great shift in population; concentration of industry in factories led to rapid urbanization. Manchester, Birmingham, and other industrial centers grew with great rapidity. The population shifts thoroughly dislocated the apportionment of parliamentary representation until the notorious injustices were corrected by the Reform Bill of 1832. Population increase outstripped the construction of suitable housing for the workers, with the result that overcrowding and squalor were characteristic in the industrial centers; low wages and high rents prevented workers from obtaining more suitable dwellings.

Workers lost their independence as industry was centralized in factories. Machines were expensive and usually performed only one operation of the manufacturing process; consequently, only those with considerable capital could set up a factory. Lowered prices, resulting from machine production, made impossible competition by artisans who employed manual methods. Factories could

not operate efficiently without discipline. Strict rules and rigid supervision by foremen replaced the informality and personal relationships of the gild or outwork systems. Workers themselves became virtual automatons as they performed the same humdrum mechanical tasks day after day.

Sixteen- to eighteen-hour days were not unusual; wages were pitifully low. Wages for mature men ranged from $2.50 to $10.00 per week. Since the operation of the machines required neither great strength nor technical skill, children and women were preferred; indeed, they comprised about three-fourths of the number of industrial employees. Wages for these helpless victims of capitalist rapacity ranged from $1.00 to $2.25 per week. Many children were "pauper apprentices," who were farmed out to employers by the almshouses. Children eight years of age were worked until they literally fainted from exhaustion, only to be revived by applications of the overseer's strap. The most elementary hygienic safeguards were ignored. Workers were often killed or maimed by the whirring machines, which were not fitted with protective devices. Employers were not required to indemnify the victims, unless their personal negligence could clearly be proven. Women were employed to drag carts where mine passages were too cramped to permit the use of mules. Children in the mines sat fourteen hours a day in utter darkness to open and close the "traps"; some became mentally deranged from prolonged exposure to such barbarous conditions.

In 1833 a father testified before factory commissioners as follows:

> My two sons (one ten, the other thirteen) work at Milnes factory at Lenton. They go at half past five in the morning; don't stop at breakfast or tea time. They stop at dinner half an hour. Come home at quarter before ten. They used to work till ten, sometimes eleven, sometimes twelve. They earn between them 6*s*. 2*d*. per week. One of them, the eldest, worked at Wilson's for two years at 2*s*. 3*d*. per week. He left because his overlooker beat him and loosened a tooth for him. I complained and they turned him away for it. They have been gone to work sixteen hours now; they will be very tired when they come home at half past nine. I have been obliged to beat 'em with a strap in their shirts, and to pinch 'em, in order to get them well awake. It made me cry to be obliged to do it.[6]

[6] Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, vol. II, p. 283.

Collective action by the workers to procure amelioration of such shocking conditions was illegal until the formation of trade unions was authorized in 1825. As public attention gradually was attracted to existence of these evils, remedial legislation, in the form of successive factory acts, eventually was secured. The reform movements of nineteenth century England eliminated the salient abuses with the result that the teachings of the socialists did not secure extensive acceptance.

SPREAD OF INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND RISE OF SOCIALISM

By 1850 the Industrial Revolution became a world movement. England for a time attempted to preserve unchallenged industrial supremacy by prohibition of the export of machinery, but the futility of these efforts was realized by 1825. In general mechanization of industry proceeded rapidly in other countries. The gradual process of development which had occurred in England was not necessary since the new techniques were introduced in integrated form. The impetus to the modernization of French industry came with the triumph of the middle class in the Revolution and the abolition of the gilds. Progress, however, was not comparable to that of England. Necessary natural resources were meager, political upheavals frequently disrupted industry. The country remained primarily agricultural and industry largely was devoted to the manufacture of articles of luxury for which craftsmanship of a high order was requisite.

Germany, on the other hand, became a great workshop after 1871. The Franco-Prussian War consolidated the states and made feasible a national industrial program. The acquisition of Alsace and Lorraine furnished new supplies of iron and coal; the indemnity paid by France likewise had a stimulating effect. Intelligent government patronage and unusually capable promotion of foreign trade also were important factors.

The industrial spurt of Russia came after 1890. Wise government policies, fostered by Count Witte, led to the construction of railways

which are usually considered the basic factor in the modernization of Russian industry. The emancipation of the serfs and relaxation of the corporate liabilities of the *mirs* created a fluid supply of labor. Italy, Spain, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia likewise were materially affected by the Industrial Revolution. By 1900 the United States, which had closely followed England in the mechanization of industry, had become a powerful competitor in the markets of the world. Western penetration of the Far East brought modernized industry to Japan, which today is one of the most highly industrialized nations.

The industrial changes produced social problems common to all these countries. Adherence to the theories of classic economists, like Smith, Ricardo, Mill, and Bentham, would have meant the perpetuation of the evils of the factory system or the naive expectation of remedial action motivated by enlightened self-interest. Voices soon were raised against eighteenth century economic liberalism. St. Simon advocated government control of productive facilities. Louis Blanc urged political democracy as a prerequisite to economic reform. He further advocated the establishment of government workshops which would serve to set standards to which private industry eventually would be forced to conform. After a necessary preliminary period under appointed superintendents, the shops were to be controlled by officials elected by the workers. Robert Owen, an English textile manufacturer, established a cooperative plan at New Lanark. The term *socialism* was applied to these plans all of which were predicated on the principle that society, rather than private enterprise, should control the factories; goods should be produced for consumption rather than to amass private fortunes which really depended on the preservation of scarcity.

The most powerful advocate of economic democracy was Karl Marx. Born in Germany of Jewish parents, he was trained in the law, only to renounce legal studies in favor of philosophy and history. Pedagogy and journalism were both closed to him as careers because of his radical views. In 1843 he went to Paris in order to secure first-hand acquaintance with the socialism of Blanc. Forced to leave

France, he proceeded to Brussels where he collaborated with his friend, Engels in the promulgation of the militant *Communist Manifesto* (1847). Twenty years later he published his ponderous *Das Kapital* which lacked the popular appeal of the *Manifesto*. Hegel had taught him that history was the story of the conflict of interests which produces change; this conflict he interpreted as the conflict between capital and labor. He held that the gulf between the classes would inevitably widen; the poor would become still more pauperized; wealth would be concentrated more and more in the hands of a few, until the capitalist system would topple of its own weight and the supremacy of the proletariat would be established. No immediate victory of the proletariat was to be anticipated; socialists who hoped for rapid reform he called, in derision, "Utopians." Workers were not merely to await the inevitable doom of capitalism. They were to recognize their international community of interest and combine to exact reforms primarily through parliamentary channels. In 1864 the first "International," or Congress of Workers, was held. These meetings, it was hoped, would create the solidarity that was necessary if the proletariat was to emancipate itself from capitalistic rule.

Acceptance of the Marxist views has been retarded by factors not adequately evaluated by the philosopher. The tenacious middle class still confounds the prophecies of the progressive widening of class distinctions. The peasantry of the European countries have become in large measure proprietor cultivators. Trade unionism has gained material success in the attainment of satisfactory working conditions, especially in England. Above all, state socialism, with its adoption of many of the practical reforms first advocated by the socialists, has allayed unrest from time to time. Its continued success, however, is problematical.

XX

LIBERALISM AND ENLIGHTENMENT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

English Reform Movements to 1914

There was imperative need for reform in eighteenth century England. The slave trade with all its horrors was strongly entrenched; slavery was the foundation of the economy of the British West Indies. Punishments for criminal offenses were barbarous; the capital sentence was prescribed for more than 200 offenses. The Test Act and other discriminations curtailed religious and civil liberty. The indigent were cared for by the system of "outdoor relief," whereby monetary contributions by the parish augmented wages which were below the subsistence level. Migration of laborers in search of employment was forbidden; the administration of the poor laws discouraged thrift and industry, depressed wages, and imposed exorbitant taxation. Many social problems grew out of the Industrial Revolution. The exploitation of women and children, starvation wages, and callous indifferences of employers to the safety and health of workers, soon attracted public attention and caused increasingly insistent demand for reform.

A great obstacle to reform was the fact that the masses were politically inarticulate. Parliament represented landed wealth—the aristocracy and the upper middle class. The Industrial Revolution meant the definite shift of wealth to the middle class and progressive urbanization. No alterations in the allocation of parliamentary representation were made to reflect the economic and social changes incident to the mechanization of industry.

One of the most successful of the early reform movements culminated in the abolition of the slave trade. England had been active in this nefarious business since the days of Drake and Hawkins;

the *asiento* clause of the Treaty of Utrecht gave her a monopoly of the trade to Spanish America. William Clarkson, an Oxford student, studied the details of the trade and published a book that embodied shocking revelations. He joined with William Wilberforce, whose persuasive eloquence and organizing ability admirably supplemented his own industry. From their combined efforts grew a society dedicated to the abolition of the traffic. The society issued pamphlets and sent petitions to Parliament. William Pitt, whose ministry already had been distinguished by important administrative and financial reforms, finally appointed a parliamentary committee to hold an investigation of the trade. An appalling story was told, but vested interests were sufficiently strong to forestall the remedial legislation introduced by the prime minister (1788). Similiar efforts in 1789 and 1792 likewise were defeated. The society continued to agitate, encouraged by a judicial decision which stipulated that negro slaves could not be held in England. Success came with the passage in 1807 of a bill abolishing the trade. England was largely instrumental in procuring an international ban on the trade at the Congress of Vienna. The methods utilized to achieve the reform were to be characteristic of subsequent movements. Interested individuals began the agitation; a society was formed and papers published until the matter reached the attention of Parliament. Parliamentary investigation greatly enhanced public interest, and, after a period of obstruction, remedial legislation was passed.

Another early reform movement that attained partial success was inaugurated by John Howard. A wealthy dissenter, he became high sheriff of Bedfordshire in 1773. His office brought glaring evils in penology to his attention. Jails were loathsome; the prevalent fee system for the payment of wardens was responsible for grave abuses in management and treatment of inmates. In some instances, persons who had been acquitted were held in prison because of fees they had incurred while awaiting trial. Diligent investigation proved that frightful conditions were general; the prevalence of jail fever was a national disgrace. The interest aroused by Howard's revelations resulted in the passage of two bills in 1774; salaries

were provided for jailers to eradicate the evils of the fee system and regulations were issued designed to ensure proper sanitation. Evasion and indifference offset the gains, but the reformer continued his agitation and a series of monographs on the *State of Prisons* did much to prepare public sentiment for the reforms of the nineteenth century.

The French Revolution brought a cessation of reforming activity; indeed, when England entered the struggle with Napoleon, legislation assumed a reactionary tendency. The *Habeas Corpus* Act was suspended and newspapers virtually were taxed out of existence. The Treasonable Practices Act enlarged the definition of treason so as to include mere speaking or writing against the king or the government. The Seditious Meetings Bill forbade political gatherings without previous notice by a responsible person, and authorized justices of the peace to disperse even legally convoked assemblies. These laws, however, were not rigorously enforced. Liberalism was identified with upheaval and violence; conservatives saw in the Reign of Terror and the rise of Napoleon the vindication of the fears expressed by Edmund Burke at the inception of the Revolution.

Reactionary policies prevailed even after the collapse of the Napoleonic Empire. Risings in 1816-1817, caused by the misery incident to post-war deflation and technological unemployment, were suppressed with unmitigated severity. More restrictions were imposed on freedom of expression and assembly; the *Habeas Corpus* Act again was suspended.

In 1819, bad harvests and renewed industrial depression again stimulated unrest. Demands for parliamentary reform centered in unrepresented industrial cities. In Manchester a great mass meeting was held in St. Peter's Fields without magisterial authorization. When the crowd refused to disperse, the magistrates attempted to arrest the speaker and rashly ordered mounted soldiers to charge. Five were killed and about fifty injured; rumor greatly exaggerated the number of casualties. The Peterloo Massacre, as it was called, caused great excitement, but the government continued to pass repressive legislation, which included further restrictions on public

meetings and the press. Improvement in economic conditions, however, partially allayed discontent and obviated the necessity for enforcing the reactionary laws.

Resumption of reform began with the entrance of liberal tories in Lord Liverpool's cabinet (1822). Robert Peel became home secretary, George Canning succeeded Castlereagh, who had committed suicide, as foreign secretary. William Huskisson accepted the post of president of the Board of Trade.

Huskisson began the assault on entrenched privilege by modifying the Navigation Acts on a basis of reciprocity; his policy was the prelude to the repeal of the acts in 1849. Tariffs were revised downward, obsolete taxes repealed, and progress made towards a more equitable distribution of taxation. In 1825, trade unions were legalized, with safeguards, however, against the employment of threats or intimidation by either side in labor disputes.

When death terminated Lord Liverpool's long ministry, Canning, after considerable royal opposition, succeeded him. A measure to modify the Corn Laws of 1815 was blocked by the House of Lords; it was the only major measure sponsored by Canning, who died in August, 1827. The Duke of Wellington, the personification of conservatism, ultimately formed a cabinet.

The first major issue of the Wellington ministry was the Catholic question. Catholics were excluded from both houses of Parliament, barred from civil offices, and deprived of the franchise. In Ireland, the injustice was aggravated by tithes and quit rents. Daniel O'Connell, a Catholic barrister, became the leader in the movement for emancipation; in 1823 he founded the Catholic Association. In 1828, the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed, removing the disabilities of dissenters. The following year, the Catholic Emancipation Act removed the major survivals of the age of religious persecution.

By 1830, demands for parliamentary reform were too insistent to be ignored. Commercial and industrial interests were not adequately represented; the shifts of wealth and population, resulting from the Industrial Revolution, were not reflected in rights of suf-

frage or the apportionment of parliamentary seats. Lancashire with its thriving, populous cities, had nineteen seats; while Cornwall, with one-quarter the population, had forty-four. Dunwich, a deserted fishing hamlet, partially submerged by the sea, had representation, as did Malmesbury, with a total population of thirteen illiterates; yet cities which had grown tremendously with the rise of factories, were inadequately represented or in some cases not represented at all. Representatives of "pocket boroughs" were appointed in accordance with rights of patronage that dated to the later Middle Ages; in "rotten boroughs," the seats were openly sold or the limited number of qualified electors bribed.

Laws restricting the suffrage were obsolete and often absurd. In the shires, the vote was restricted to owners of 40*s.* freeholds, in accordance with a law of the reign of Henry VI (1430). In four centuries, of course, the rise of prices and the consequent depreciation of the purchasing value of money meant that owners of even the smallest parcels of land could vote while tenants on large farms or leaseholders were ineligible. A bewildering variety of practices characterized the franchise laws in respect to the boroughs. In some cases, the vote was restricted to those who had inherited or purchased rights of burgage. In others, only resident householders were eligible. "Scot and lot" boroughs granted the franchise to those who paid certain taxes which had survived from medieval times, while in the "Potwalloper" towns, only those who occupied dwellings with kitchens were permitted to vote. "Close boroughs" confined the vote to the incumbents of designated municipal offices.

With the accession of George IV, a ministry was formed under Earl Grey. A bill for parliamentary reform, introduced by Lord Russel, passed Commons on the first reading, but with the introduction of amendments. Appeal to the country on the issue resulted in a decisive Whig triumph and a consequent accentuation of demands for immediate reform legislation; a bill passed Commons with a majority of 109 votes, but failed of passage in the House of Lords. Riots throughout the country followed the failure of the bill; the crowds bore banners calling for "the bill, the whole bill, and

nothing but the bill." The ministry resigned, but Grey was recalled after Wellington vainly attempted to form a cabinet. The reform bill again was passed by Commons with a large majority, but it encountered obstruction by the Lords. Grey was authorized by the king to threaten the creation of new peers to force passage. Wellington and a group of ultra-conservative lords withdrew from the House and the bill became law.

Parliamentary representation was apportioned more equitably. Fifty-six boroughs with populations under 2,000 lost their seats, while thirty with less than 4,000 inhabitants were deprived of one representative each. One double borough was deprived of two of its four. The 143 seats were allocated to forty-three boroughs, primarily the industrial centers hitherto so inadequately represented.

There was also a modest extension of the franchise. In the counties, the vote was granted to £10 freeholders, copyholders, and long-term leaseholders. A £50 qualification was fixed for holders of leases for less than sixty years and tenants at will. In the boroughs, householders who paid rents of at least £10 per year were made eligible. The bill shifted political power from the landed aristocracy to the middle class. The vast army of workers, of course, were still deprived of the franchise. Further liberalization was necessary; political rights were indispensable if adequate economic and social reform was to be achieved.

A number of reforms were carried through by the impetus towards liberalism created by the First Reform Bill. In response to continual agitation for the abolition of slavery in the British dependencies, a bill was passed in 1833 providing for gradual emancipation. All slave children below the age of six were freed and children subsequently born to slaves were to be free. This plan proved unworkable, with the result that four years later emancipation was granted to all and £20,000,000 was appropriated to indemnify the owners. The Factory Act of 1833, sponsored by Lord Ashley, brought some mitigation of the terrible conditions in the factories. A preliminary act of 1831 had regulated the labor of pauper apprentices, but the act of 1833 was of general application in the textile industry. Labor of children under nine years was prohibited; children from nine

to thirteen could not be employed for more than forty-eight hours per week, and no more than nine hours a day. Thirteen hours a week were to be spent in school. "Young persons" from thirteen to eighteen were restricted to sixty-nine hours per week with no more than twelve hours in one day.

Nine years later, Ashley secured the appointment of a parliamentary committee to investigate mines and factories, despite the vehement opposition of industrialists and proponents of *laissez faire.* The report revealed that women were forced to crawl through cramped mine passages, drawing carts by chains which were fastened to girdles. The testimony was so revolting that legislation was passed entirely forbidding the labor of women in mines. In 1844, the indomitable Ashley, assisted by Peel who had recently been converted to the cause, secured passage of another factory act. Under the terms of this bill, women could not work more than twelve hours a day; children under thirteen were restricted to six and a half.

The Poor Law of 1834 corrected many of the notorious abuses which the system of "outdoor relief" had created. Restrictions on the migration of paupers in search of employment were removed; payment of doles was forbidden. Workhouses were established to care for the indigent who could not secure employment; parishes were grouped so that the burden of maintaining these institutions could be more equitably shared. Boards of three were appointed to administer local relief in accordance with the act.

The operation of the Corn Laws of 1815 imposed great hardships on the poor. No grain could be imported without almost prohibitive duties, until the domestic price reached 80*s.* per quarter ($2-$10 per bushel). This act, of course, had been passed in the interests of the land owners by a parliament that represented primarily that element of English society. Attempts were made from time to time to lower the duties; during the brief ministry of Canning (1827), a measure to install a sliding scale of duties was blocked by the Lords. Manufacturers joined the movement for abolition of the laws, since high food prices meant continued agitation of workers for higher

wages. Richard Cobden and John Bright took the lead in the establishment of the Anti-Corn Law League in 1838; lectures and pamphlets, financed primarily by the Manchester manufacturers, brought the issue before the masses.

Peel was partially converted to a free trade policy in 1842, when he lowered tariffs on a number of commodities and noted evidences of industrial stimulation. In 1843, he abolished duties on wool and again results were favorable; in 1845, export duties were abolished and import duties on a number of commodities lowered. It was, however, the failure of the Irish potato crop, in the fall of 1845, that brought the question of the Corn Laws to a head. Potatoes had supplanted bread as the staple food of the poor; the blight caused actual famine. Peel's Tory government, of course, was traditionally representative of the landowners' interests and the prime minister was personally committed to a policy of protection. The Whigs, under the leadership of Russel, boldly espoused free trade; when Peel's cabinet refused to support him in repeal legislation, he resigned, but resumed office after Russel failed to form a ministry. A bitter parliamentary battle ensued, but on May 15, 1846, the repeal measure was passed.

One of the effects of the repeal of the Corn Laws was to allay the agitation of the Chartists. In 1836, a Workmen's Association had been founded in London; it soon adopted the attainment of political rights as its paramount objective. The depression of 1838 and the attendant misery of the workers gained strength for the movement. William Lovett, one of the leaders of the organization, drew up the People's Charter; its provisions clearly indicated the conviction that political rights were necessary if redress of economic grievances was to be secured. The charter demanded manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, and the abolition of property qualifications for parliamentary membership. It also called for payment of members of the House of Commons, annual parliamentary elections, and the creation of equal electoral districts.

Mass meetings were held throughout the country; it was said that 300,000 assembled at Manchester. In 1839, a convention was held,

and a petition was drawn up and presented to Parliament. Rejection of the petition precipitated riots. "Physical force" chartists marched on London but the arrests of the leaders broke up the demonstration. Excitement subsided with a return of better conditions in business, but in 1843 the "Great Turnout," somewhat similar to the general strikes of our times, gave evidence that the leaders were still active. The following year, with the formation of Friendly Societies and renewed interest in trade unionism, much of the force of the Chartist movement was diverted. The abolition of the Corn Laws, and the consequent alleviation of misery, increased the defection from its ranks. Revolutions on the Continent in 1848, however, stimulated a brief revival. About 20,000 workers, led by Fergus O'Connor, marched to London, which was heavily policed in preparation for their coming. The demonstrators brought a monster petition, alleged to contain 5,000,000 names. The document, weighing 584 pounds, was carried in three cabs. This final impotent gesture marked the end of Chartism; conflicting objectives, violence of extremists, and the absence of capable leadership had made inevitable its failure.

The Second Reform Bill of 1867 ushered in another period of social and economic advances. Disraeli converted the Tories to the cause of political reform; the party thus assumed the mantle of liberalism hitherto worn by the Whigs. The bill enfranchised all urban householders, and lodgers who paid minimum annual rents of £10. In the counties, the qualification for tenants was reduced to £12. This liberalization of the franchise admitted the large majority of industrial workers, but the agricultural laborers were still excluded.

Gladstone's first ministry (1868-1874) carried many significant reforms. The injustices of the Irish land laws were mitigated by the Act of 1870. A great advance was made towards the establishment of educational facilities for the masses, largely in response to the interest in this problem stimulated by Joseph Lancaster's Sunday Schools which had afforded a modicum of elementary instruction for the children of the working class. Schools under local boards were set up where existent facilities were inadequate; the cost was defrayed by government grants, supplemented by local taxation and fees paid

by parents of children who attended. All denominational religious instruction was forbidden. By 1890, there were 20,000 of these Board Schools, attended by about 4,000,000 pupils.

Another achievement was the passage of a civil service law (1870) which authorized competitive examinations for posts in the service. An Army Reform Act (1871) abolished the practice of purchasing commissions, but its provisions were not made retroactive. A royal warrant, issued by Queen Victoria at Gladstone's behest, was necessary to overcome the obstructive tactics of the Lords. Election by ballot was established the following year, and the creation of a Supreme Court of Judicature (1873) terminated the reforms of the first Gladstone ministry.

The second Gladstone ministry (1880-1885) once more focused attention on reform, rather than on foreign policy which had been the chief interest of Disraeli's conservative government (1874-1880). The Franchise Act of 1884 gave the vote to the agricultural laborers; universal manhood suffrage virtually was established since only servants, transients, and bachelors who lived with their parents and paid no rent were excluded. A redistribution of seats, necessitated by the extension of the ballot, was carried in 1885.

Political reform was consummated by the Parliament Bill of 1911 and the Franchise Act of 1918. By the former act, the Lords were deprived of the right to pass on money bills. The concurrent rights of the Lords in connection with other bills were curtailed; henceforth they could delay but not prevent passage of an act of the House of Commons. The Act of 1918 almost doubled the electorate by extending the franchise to women; a supplementary "Flapper Bill" admitted women from twenty-one to thirty years of age who were excluded by the original act.

The recent history of England has also been marked by the consolidation and extension of social and economic reforms. Supplementary enactments have raised the standard of schools founded by the Act of 1870; admission to the universities has been liberalized. Trade unionism, protected, even fostered, by the government, has materialized in the formation of the Labor Party, which, however, under the

responsibility of government in the post-war era, has become relatively conservative. The formation of labor exchanges and the establishment of unemployment insurance on a national scale has largely eliminated the hardships incident to industrial fluctuations. Old age pensions were established in 1908; the Small Holdings and Allotments Act of the preceding year has proved a great benefit to the workers, especially those in the low wage brackets.

England achieved true democracy by a remarkable process of orderly reform. There was no revolution; violence was almost entirely non-existent, despite the sharp clashes of class interests precipitated by the reform measures. English liberalism was the model for the world during the nineteenth century; success of the reform movements infused liberals everywhere with hope. Time after time, a few individuals had begun to agitate for the correction of specific abuses. Slowly, sometimes almost imperceptibly, they gained against the obstructions of vested interests and public apathy. The devoted groups grew into societies; papers and broadsides incessantly urged the reforms, until the issues attracted political notice. Mobilized public sentiment, in turn, exercised a pressure which eventually overcame all opposition. A great lesson of the reform movements is that it is possible for a few consecrated individuals to storm the citadels of aristocracy and privilege.

FRANCE: 1814-1914

In May, 1814, Louis XVIII entered Paris, in a carriage drawn by white horses, to the accompaniment of tolling bells, booming cannon, and the restrained enthusiasm of the populace. The new king was "a man of spirit, and, in a certain measure, a man of good sense, but prematurely old, wracked by gout, fearing all work, fleeing all contention; he regarded the throne of France as a comfortable arm chair rather than a place of honor." He had left France at the time of the abortive flight of Louis XVI to Varennes. He had sojourned for a time in Russia, where his arrogance had alienated the czar, and had then gone to England where he had received a pension.

The Congress of Vienna, after deciding upon a Bourbon restoration, had stipulated that a constitution be granted to conciliate outraged French liberals. Louis accordingly issued a charter that organized the new government as a constitutional monarchy and preserved many of the benefits of the Revolution. Equality before the law, freedom of speech and assembly, an untrammeled press, freedom from arbitrary arrests, and other civil liberties were guaranteed. Lands confiscated from the church and the *émigrés* were not to be restored, nor were the titles of holders of such lands to be impugned.

The king was to enjoy an absolute veto and the sole right to initiate legislation through his appointed ministers. A bicameral legislature was established. The Chamber of Peers was made up of nobles who inherited membership, or were appointed for life by the king; it had co-ordinate authority with the lower house except in taxation measures. The Chamber of Deputies was made up of members elected by indirect and restricted suffrage. Only those who paid a minimum annual tax of 300 francs were eligible to vote; 1,000 francs was the amount requisite for membership in the Chamber. About 100,000 received the vote in accordance with these qualifications, while 12,000 were eligible to serve as deputies.

The new government was beset by a number of difficulties. The king's issue of laws dated in the "nineteenth year of our reign" ignored the Revolution and was interpreted as an affront. Returning *émigrés* clamored for the restoration of their estates and uttered threats of vengeance for the indignities they had suffered. The indiscretions of many of the repatriated nobles precipitated the "white terror," a veritable wave of hysteria. Those who had been prominently identified with Napoleon or the Revolution feared for their lives; holders of sequestered lands placed little confidence in the assurance that restitution to the *émigrés* was not contemplated.

In the demobilization of the army, there was discrimination against former officers of Napoleon. The Restoration government embarked on a policy of puritanism, attempting, among other things, to enforce strict observance of the Sabbath. The funeral of a Parisian actress, who had enjoyed great popularity, caused a demonstration when

church obsequies and burial in consecrated ground were forbidden. These acts of the government alone would have assured the thorough unpopularity of the new regime, but the situation was aggravated by economic depression. There were riots against high taxes and the exportation of grain which kept domestic prices at high levels. When Napoleon returned from Elba to inaugurate the Hundred Days, there were few save the nobles to mourn the expulsion of the Bourbons. After Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo and his exile to St. Helena, the allies once more installed Louis XVIII, with an army of occupation to ensure order.

The period of 1815-1820 was characterized by liberalism, sponsored by both the Richelieu and Decazes ministries. The indemnity imposed by the allies at Vienna was paid by bond issues; the army of occupation accordingly was withdrawn by decision of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. A new army law established the Napoleonic principle of "careers open to talent"; many ultra-royalists were disgruntled by the measure. A press law which had required prior authorization for publication was replaced by a measure that required publishers to post a bond of 10,000 francs.

Events of the year 1820 inaugurated a period of reaction. The Abbé Grégoire, a "regicide," was elected to the Chamber of Deputies, but excluded in deference to the storm of criticism evoked from conservatives. The murder of the Duke of Berry likewise outraged public sentiment and strengthened demands for reactionary legislation. Rigid censorship was imposed on the press and summary procedure authorized against those charged with sedition. The Law of the Double Vote was designed to consolidate conservative control of the Chamber of Deputies. The law provided that deputies were to be chosen by colleges of electors in designated cantons, as well as in the departments. Citizens who paid a minimum tax of 1,000 francs were permitted to vote for both cantonal and departmental electors, which, of course, gave them double representation.

The swing to conservatism was accentuated during the Villele ministry (1822-1827). Reactionary peers were appointed, clerical control of education was revived, and the political influence of the

Jesuits again became strong. *Émigrés* were given preference in the award of military commissions; restrictions on the press were tightened and protective tariffs imposed to benefit landowners, with attendant high prices for the masses.

The accession of Charles X (1824-1830) brought reactionary trends to a dangerous level. The new ruler was a leader of the stupid, fanatical group of nobles who had learned nothing since 1789. A proposal to reimburse the *émigrés* stirred up great excitement. The losses sustained by them were estimated at 1,000,000,000 francs. The plan provided for the payment of 30,000,000 francs annually, which sum represented 3 per cent interest on the estimated value of the confiscated property. Interest on outstanding government bonds was to be lowered from 5 per cent to 4 per cent to raise funds to operate the scheme. The *bourgeoisie,* however, protested so energetically that the proposal was withdrawn, since the government could not afford to antagonize this class.

Liberals gained seats in the Chamber of Deputies, despite the electoral law of 1820. In the elections of 1830, they won the balance of power, but Charles attempted to frustrate the expressed will of the electorate by his July Ordinances. Claiming the right of independent legislation, "to ordain for the good of the state," the king quashed the elections and arbitrarily narrowed the franchise to ensure conservative success in the new elections ordered. The ordinances also contained a provision authorizing the prosecution of publishers whose books or journals had a radical tendency, even if nothing specifically objectionable could be cited.

These ordinances precipitated the July Revolution of 1830. Barricades were thrown up in the streets of Paris; the movement spread to other parts of the country. Charles was forced to flee; the throne was offered by the revolutionary leaders to Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans. His choice was a compromise designed to satisfy both royalists and republicans.

Louis had served in the army during the early days of the Revolution. With the establishment of the Republic, he left France to sojourn in Switzerland, England, and America until the Restoration.

He was coarse, affable, and democratic. He and his green umbrella had been a familiar sight on the streets of Paris; he had seldom failed to stop to chat with workmen while on his strolls.

The moderate reforms inaugurated by the new regime were in keeping with the character of the revolution of 1830, which was essentially a *bourgeois* movement. Amendments to the constitution included a denial of the doctrine of the divine right of kings and an unequivocal renunciation of the power of independent legislation which had been claimed by Charles X. Another enactment declared that Catholicism was not the state religion. The Law of the Double Vote was repealed and there was a modest extension of the franchise. Property qualifications for suffrage were reduced to 200 francs; professional men were eligible to vote if their taxes were half that sum.

The liberals, under the leadership of Thiers, pressed for further reforms, but conservatives, led by Guizot, were able to curb liberal tendencies by the September Laws of 1835 which followed the abortive Fieschi plot against the life of the king.

Abstinence from intervention in the international issues of the period was productive of no little dissatisfaction. Failure to take action against Russia's annexation of Poland and the acquiescence of the government in Austria's Italian policies were regarded as a repudiation of the principles with which France had become identified. The fundamental cause of the fall of the Orleans monarchy, however, was its failure to sponsor adequate social legislation. Unemployment, low wages, and generally unsatisfactory working conditions were perennial problems which the coming of the Industrial Revolution was beginning to accentuate. Louis Blanc with his proposal for the establishment of national workshops did much to unite the opposition to the government. Revolutionary banquets were held and when the government attempted to suppress the agitation, the "February Days," with barricades and street fighting, brought an end to the dynasty. A constituent assembly ultimately was called to organize a government on the foundations of universal suffrage, broadened civil liberties, and national workshops. The

Second Republic was formed as a result of the deliberations of the assembly; Louis Napoleon was elected to the presidency.

Napoleon's rise to power marked his attainment of long-cherished ambitions. The "Napoleonic Legend" had become a veritable religion for him; it had sustained him in failure, imprisonment, and exile. He was elected for a four-year term, but in 1851, a carefully maneuvered plebiscite authorized an extension to ten years and in 1852 popular approval was given to the re-establishment of the Empire.

The government of the Second Empire was a benevolent despotism. Ministers were appointed by the emperor and were responsible only to him. Legislation was issued by an appointive Council of State, subject to rejection or approval by a legislature elected by manhood suffrage. The legislature could not amend proposed laws and could only accept or reject budgetary measures in their entirety. No publicity was given to the debates of the body. Severe restrictions were imposed on the press; the right of assembly also was seriously abridged. A secret police was primarily engaged in the suppression of allegedly seditious activities. Education once more was placed under clerical control. The emperor maintained that these reactionary measures were temporary; the state was not ready for republican institutions; when it was, he would "crown despotism with liberty." These protestations of devotion to liberal principles probably were insincere; the reforms and concessions of the last years of the reign were desperate measures to bolster a tottering, discredited regime.

In the economic sphere, the emperor's policies were brilliantly successful. Railway mileage was greatly increased, with commensurate improvements in other forms of transportation. The construction of the Suez Canal by Ferdinand de Lesseps was a great achievement, although France was not long to enjoy control. Mechanization of industry proceeded rapidly; a great exposition in 1855 was striking evidence of the degree to which France had been touched by the Industrial Revolution. The creation of the *Crédit Foncier* was a boon to agriculture. Government funds were advanced as loans to farmers at moderate interest rates.

There was little enlightened legislation to curb the social evils accentuated by the Industrial Revolution. Unemployment was alleviated to some degree by programs of public works, and the right to strike was recognized in 1864. Long hours, miserable wages, dangerous and unhygienic working conditions, however, were the rule. The conclusion of a commercial treaty with England in 1860, although bitterly assailed by manufacturers, benefited the masses by a general lowering of prices.

It was the foreign policy of Napoleon that primarily was responsible for the downfall of the Second Empire. The assertion of claims to control of the Holy Places pleased the powerful Catholic faction, but led to the Crimean War. England joined France, because of her fears lest Russia dismember Turkey and acquire control of the Balkans and perhaps the Dardanelles. French troops played a major part in the siege of Sevastapol; the conference which settled the issues involved in the war was held in Paris. France had resumed her former place in international affairs, but the gain in prestige hardly justified the war. In 1859, Moldavia and Wallachia came under single rule; Napoleon inspired the move and was chiefly responsible for the creation of the Roumanian nation. At the Plombières Conference, the emperor promised Cavour assistance in the struggle of Piedmont-Sardinia for Italian independence from Austria. Cavour, relying on Napoleon's assurance, provoked war with Austria, but the emperor withdrew from the struggle, after the battles of Magenta and Solferino and concluded the separate peace of Villa Franca. Savoy and Nice, the price of French aid, were annexed, however; Piedmont-Sardinia ultimately gained Lombardy and this softened resentment against France.

Napoleon's policy in Mexico was the great folly of his reign. In 1861, England, France, and Spain sent troops to Mexico to protect their nationals and collect debts. French troops remained after the others were evacuated; Napoleon treated Mexico as a conquered country and offered the throne of his newly created empire to Maximilian, brother of Franz Joseph, the Austrian emperor, who unwisely accepted. The United States, torn by civil war, was power-

less to enforce the Monroe Doctrine. In 1866, however, Washington peremptorily ordered evacuation of the French troops. Napoleon had no alternative; and the departure of the French was the signal for a Mexican uprising that resulted in the execution of Maximilian.

Perhaps the emperor's greatest misfortune was the fact that he had Bismarck for his antagonist in diplomacy. In 1866, he was duped by the Prussian chancellor, at the Biarritz interview, when he consented to remain neutral in an Austro-Prussian war, in return for vague promises of territorial compensation. After Prussia crushed Austria (1866), Napoleon was rebuffed when he sought fulfillment of the understanding; his plan to partition Belgium was disclosed, thus forfeiting the friendship of England. In the meantime, a French army was sent to Rome to protect the pope, whose control of the Eternal City was jeopardized by the creation of the Italian kingdom. This act aroused the bitter hostility of Italy. When France rushed into war with Prussia over the Spanish succession issue and its aftermath, she was isolated. At Metz and Sedan her armies were crushed by the Prussian juggernaut; Napoleon abdicated and the Third Republic was proclaimed. Paris heroically withstood a siege until starved into submission (January, 1871). An assembly concluded the Treaty of Frankfort which surrendered Alsace-Lorraine and provided for the payment of an indemnity; the coronation of William I as Emperor of Germany, in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, climaxed the humiliation of France.

There were serious obstacles to recovery. A *commune* was organized in Paris at the close of the war and the red flag of socialism was unfurled. Economic depression and consequent unrest afforded the chief impetus to the communal movement, which had for its objective the formation of petty, self-sufficient, socialistic states in place of a national government. Opponents of the *commune* were divided as to the form of government to be adopted for the nation. The provisional authority of the assembly continued; Thiers was *de facto* head of the republic. A series of organic laws, passed in 1875, put the republic on a more substantial constitutional basis. The executive power nominally is vested in a president, elected for a

seven-year term by both houses of the legislature. In reality, however, ministers, responsible to the legislative branch, wield the executive power. The legislature is organized into a Senate of 300 and a Chamber of Deputies. Members of the upper house are elected for nine-year terms by electoral colleges, which, in turn, are elected by universal manhood suffrage. Deputies are directly elected for four-year terms. The necessity for universal education for democratic government was recognized by the passage of laws in 1881 that provided free schools and compulsory education for children six to thirteen years of age.

The French form of parliamentary government differs from that of England or the United States mainly in the absence of a two-party system. France has a number of parties, no one of which can secure a clear majority for any extended period. The result is that most ministries are coalition ministries; but at any time, often on trivial issues, several parties may form a coalition, or *bloc,* and overthrow the ministry by withholding a vote of confidence.

The Boulanger Crisis of 1887 seriously tested the republic. As minister of war, Boulanger dramatically bid for the support of royalists and those eager to secure revenge against Germany. Real danger of war with Germany was precipitated, but fortunately the movement petered out in bombast and posturing. In 1896, the treason case of Captain Dreyfus created an acute governmental crisis. The captain was sentenced to French Guiana for life; he subsequently was shown to be innocent. The scandals uncovered by the case shook the government to its foundations.

Anti-clericalism was the leading movement of the opening years of the twentieth century. In 1901, the Law of Associations forbade the existence of orders, unless specific governmental authorization was secured. Three years later, the various orders were forbidden to teach. In 1905, state support of the church was almost completely withdrawn. The church question remained as a leading issue until the outbreak of the war caused all factions to suspend their differences.

RUSSIA: 1815-1914

Russia, in 1815, had a population of about 45,000,000. Natural resources were undeveloped, and, despite a multitude of onerous taxes, the annual revenue of the government averaged approximately $55,000,000. There were poll and land taxes in addition to excises and levies on merchants and industrial gilds, yet recurrent deficits constituted a serious problem. One-third of the expenditures maintained the army, made up of conscripts who served twenty-five years under harsh discipline.

The government was despotic; the *ukases* of the czar were the law. There were, of course, a Council of State and a Senate, but these bodies were purely advisory. Local administration was characterized by venality and inefficiency; many officials received little or no salaries with the consequent inducement to corruption.

Eighty per cent of the population were serfs, bound to the soil. Some were fiscal serfs, attached to the imperial estates; the others were subject to private landowners. Most serfs owed *barschina,* or labor, three or more days each week; commutation of services to quit rents, however, was not uncommon. The serf received, in return for his labor, an allotment of approximately four acres which afforded him subsistence. These holdings were cultivated co-operatively by the serfs of each *mir,* or village. *Volost* courts, under the control of the landlords, had virtually unlimited jurisdiction over the peasantry. Forced labor also was characteristic in industry; many workshops were operated by the government.

Alexander I introduced a few reforms. In 1824, the sale of lands without the peasantry was forbidden, thus preventing the evictions which often accompanied transfer of lands. The czar also toyed with schemes for the emancipation and education of the peasantry. His liberalism, however, was short-lived. In 1820, the murders of the Duke of Berry and of Kotzebue, a publicist of Russian sympathies, created profound distrust of liberal movements in his mind. Unrest in Poland, despite a relatively liberal constitution, also served to make him more amenable to the reactionary doctrines of Metternich.

Nicholas I (1825-1855) outdid even Metternich in reactionary measures. A secret police, with well-nigh unlimited power, was organized to ferret out real or imaginary political plots; thousands of political prisoners were consigned to living death in the wastes of Siberia. Travel was greatly restricted by an elaborate passport system, and a rigid censorship prevented the diffusion of liberal ideas. Universities were subjected to close governmental supervision; students or professors of liberal views were promptly dismissed and in many cases exiled. When Poland rebelled in 1830, its constitution was abrogated and it was annexed as a Russian province. The czar desired to isolate Russia completely from foreign influences; he was so successful that the revolutions of 1848 produced scarcely a tremor.

The Crimean War produced an active sentiment for reform among many of the nobles. The humiliation of the Russian army was largely attributable to blundering, bickering among high officers, thefts of supplies, and embezzlement from which not even Red Cross funds were immune. Some held that serfdom was the fundamental cause for the defeat; it was the great obstacle in the way of economic development, and the attainment of a successful foreign policy.

The reforms of Alexander II (1855-1881) were in large measure the results of the experiences of the war and the czar's personal conviction of the necessity for reform. Surveillance on universities was relaxed and restriction on travel mitigated. Judicial reforms of the greatest importance were instituted. Judicial and administrative functions were differentiated, and trained judges were appointed and given adequate compensation. Trial by jury was established and appellate procedure devised. Petty cases were placed under the jurisdiction of elective magistrates. The country was divided into thirty-four districts and a district assembly, or *zemtvo,* established in each. The *zemtvos* were made up of proprietor delegates, indirectly elected by peasants and workmen.

Personal service was commuted to rents for 23,000,000 fiscal serfs. In 1861, the czar proclaimed general emancipation. The peasants received personal freedom in theory and were to redeem their holdings by paying 6 per cent on the assessed valuation for forty-nine

years, after which time they would own them free from encumbrances. The *mirs* were held collectively responsible for the payment of taxes and redemptions; in practice, this often held the serf to the land with the result that not as much labor was released for industrial development as liberals had anticipated. The reforms did not allay discontent; Marxist ideas permeated the urban proletariat, but the radicals, realizing the difficulty of converting the stolid peasantry, gradually turned to more direct methods. The Nihilists were organized to force reforms by systematic terrorization. Alexander II was one of their first victims; he was blown to pieces by a bomb.

The reign of Alexander III (1881-1894) was marked by reactionary measures reminiscent of the days of Nicholas I. Of far greater importance, however, was the coming of the Industrial Revolution; railways were constructed, and industrial production doubled. Governmental patronage for industrial development was largely due to the enlightened views of Count Sergius Witte who, as the czar's chief minister in the last years of the reign, really guided the destinies of the state. Industrialization augmented the urban proletariat and thus aided the cause of liberalism. The Social Democratic Party was formed, with membership recruited mainly from the industrial workers.

Under Nicholas II (1894-1917) economic development was accelerated. The czar was weak, irresolute, and unduly amenable to the suggestions of those who had secured his confidence. He was opposed to political reform, and his conservative advisers, led by Von Plehve, strengthened these ideas. The disasters of the Russo-Japanese war, which will be discussed in a later chapter, precipitated a revolution. When a crowd massed before the winter palace at St. Petersburg to present a petition, soldiers fired on the dense throng, killing hundreds. This tragic occurrence of Red Sunday (January 22, 1905) raised opposition to the government to a grave level and attracted world condemnation.

The czar allayed the excitement by a series of reforms. Witte was made prime minister and a Duma, or Parliament, called in August, 1905. In October, a series of decrees were issued, providing for the

election of members of the Duma by manhood suffrage and the transformation of the old Council of State into an upper house. Moreover, a supplementary edict declared that no laws could be validly issued without the sanction of the Duma. These reforms did not placate radical leaders. Miluikov and others sought the establishment of a constitutional monarchy modeled on that of England, but divisions among the leaders seriously weakened the reform cause. By the spring of 1906, reaction, led by the nobles and wealthy landowners and aided by the apathy of the peasantry, began to undo the reforms. A series of imperial decrees removed fundamental law from the competence of the Duma and reserved foreign affairs, as well as military and naval matters, to the unlimited control of the czar. Consequently, when the Duma met in May, 1906, its failure was foredoomed; it was almost immediately prorogued. Further redemption payments for the lands of the peasants were cancelled by the czar, however, and attempts to Russianize Finland were virtually abandoned.

Two abortive sessions of the Duma were held in 1907 at which the electoral laws were revised to assure a conservative majority. The Revolution of 1905 failed to achieve major reforms; there was reason, nevertheless, to hope for the eventual establishment of constitutional monarchy, with an adequate program of social and economic reform. The World War, however, was a strain which the Romanov dynasty could not survive. The Revolution of 1917 inaugurated a new and probably the most significant era in Russian history. In Italy, Germany, and the Balkans, liberalism was largely identified with nationalism and therefore will be discussed from that viewpoint.

NINETEENTH CENTURY ENLIGHTENMENT

The Age of Enlightenment brilliantly culminated in the culture of the nineteenth century. Democratic ideals, proved feasible by the government of the United States that survived even the crisis of civil war, permeated virtually every European nation. Constitutional changes and successive reform movements broadened electorates. The

adoption of the Australian ballot afforded requisite secrecy for the untrammeled exercise of the basic function of citizenship. More and more powers were assigned to legislatures; administration of justice was placed on an equitable basis and trained civil servants replaced the venal time-servers of the past. Newspapers and other publicity organs, after many struggles, secured the right to keep the electorate informed as to the conduct of governmental affairs.

Socialistic tenets in increasing number secured first the interest, then the sponsorship, of governing officials. Rights of collective bargaining were at least ostensibly guaranteed in most countries, although the judiciary, through the exercise of injunction powers, often served to frustrate these privileges. Statutes similar to the English factory legislation were passed, protecting workers against preventable hazards incident to their employment. Legislation also was passed to provide compensation for those injured, despite the utilization of protective measures; payments to the dependents of those killed in industrial accidents likewise was made mandatory. More advanced countries installed systems for pension payments to the aged; partially successful efforts likewise were made to ameliorate hardships engendered by fluctuations in the demand for labor. Governmental efforts likewise were made to improve the housing of workers, to raise standards of public health, and to encourage thrift. The growing trend toward paternalism did much to forestall rapid spread of agitation for public ownership of the instruments of production.

Several instances of successful resort to arbitration for the adjudication of international disputes seemed to justify hopes for the eventual renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty settled the dispute as to the location of the northeast boundary of the United States and allayed the friction between that country and Great Britain engendered by various subsidiary issues. Tension between the British and American governments, resulting from the damages sustained from the depredations of the *Alabama,* a Confederate privateer built and fitted in Britain, likewise was eliminated when both parties accepted the decision of

an arbitration commission. Comparable success ultimately was secured in efforts to attain a pacific settlement of the Venezuelan boundary dispute. The convocation of the Hague Conferences and the resultant institution of the Hague Tribunal were interpreted as evidence of international resolution to abolish the spectre of armed conflict.

The period was marked by humanitarian movements that attacked many of the salient social problems precipitated by the Industrial Revolution. State and private agencies established hospitals, with provision for a free care of indigent patients. The Red Cross became an international agency, primarily for the amelioration of distress occasioned by natural disaster. Establishments for the care of paupers, the crippled, and the insane, were founded, for the most part under the control of the state, but the church and other philanthropic agencies supplemented governmental activities. Family welfare work, conducted by trained personnels, did much to mitigate the dangerous conditions which the concentration of industry all too often had produced. Advances in penology, begun by Howard and other pioneers in the eighteenth century, were continued. Increasing emphasis was placed on the moral and social rehabilitation of criminals by means of parole, vocational training, and other expedients.

Augmented productive facilities appreciably raised standards of living; the improvements trickled down through all social classes, although failure to ensure a sufficiently wide distribution of wealth was to produce the basic weakness of the capitalistic system. Rotation of crops, the utilization of artificial fertilizers, irrigation, and other reclamation projects, enhanced agricultural productivity and cheapened foodstuffs, despite the rapid trend toward urbanization. Agricultural machinery, such as the harvester, also compensated for the migration of farm labor to industrial centers. Governmental departments of agriculture and agricultural colleges served to disseminate knowledge of the new techniques and to curtail losses sustained by the ravages of pests.

The period 1850-1900 was a veritable era of railway construction. Lowered transportation charges were a major factor in the urbani-

zation movement and made feasible progressive concentration of industry. Development of inland waterways, supplemented by the construction of canals, extended additional transportation facilities and contributed to the lowering of costs. The vessels of dozens of steamship companies plied to and fro; ports all over the world bustled with activity. Great packets, operated by the Cunard, White Star, North German Lloyd, and other major lines, reduced the time of Atlantic crossings to less than a week. The advent of the automobile, with the attendant construction of highways and the beginnings of air transport, have served further to extend the effects of the revolutionary changes in transportation.

Epoch-making inventions so improved communications as to preclude the isolation of the preceding century. The telegraph, perfected by Morse, and the telephone, developed from the experiments of Bell, brought the advantages of virtually instantaneous communication even to remote hamlets. The laying of the first Atlantic cable, a monument to the vision and perseverance of Field, inaugurated a new era of international contacts which has reached spectacular culmination in the radio and transoceanic telephone of our day.

Mechanization extended to practically all industries with great rapidity. The steam and trip hammer, hydraulic press, traveling crane, and scores of other devices further cheapened and expanded the use of iron and steel products. A second stage in the Industrial Revolution began with the invention of the dynamo and motor and the perfection of facilities for the transmission of high voltage currents. Turbines for the generation of electricity were perfected, creating renewed interest in the utilization of water power. Division of labor became more and more characteristic of industrial processes.

Major discoveries were made in medical science. The experiments of Pasteur resulted in the demonstration of the bacterial causation of disease and revolutionized medical practice. His method of treatment for hydrophobia, used with slight modifications at the present time, afforded prevention as well as remedy for a dread malady. Koch's experiments likewise were of fundamental importance in the development of bacteriology and began the crusade

against the scourge of tuberculosis. Lord Lister demonstrated, in the face of opposition that frequently reached the level of persecution, that infection of wounds could be almost entirely prevented by antisepsis. Anaesthesia was first successfully utilized in a major surgical operation by Dr. Morton of Boston, although nitrous oxide had been previously used by a Georgia dental surgeon.

In the realm of pure science, equally significant discoveries were made. The wave theory of light was propounded by Young and Fresnel, and means were devised for the measurement of its velocity. The development of spectrum analysis opened the way to numerous discoveries in astronomy as well as to the invention and practical application of the spectroscope. Oersted, a Danish physicist, proved the identity of electricity and magnetism. Faraday's discovery of the principles of electrical induction led to the invention of the motor and dynamo. Ampère, Gauss, Ohm, and others also made major contributions to the practical application of electro-motive force. Atomic chemistry was developed as a result of the researches of Dalton, Berzelius, and Avogadro. Towards the close of the nineteenth century, Sir William Crookes showed that the atom was not the basic unit of matter but was made up of electrons. A new era opened in the biological sciences with the formulation of Darwin's theory of evolution, set forth in his famous *Origin of Species.*

Literary romanticism superseded the classicism of the eighteenth century. Emotional content, the author's spiritual reaction to life and the world, were stressed, rather than perfection of form. Outstanding poets, such as Goethe, Keats, Byron, and Shelley, were typical of the romantic movement. The nineteenth century also marked the perfection of the novel as a literary form, with the works of Dickens, Thackeray, Scott, Hugo, Balzac, and Tolstoy. The works of Tolstoy and Dickens were particularly permeated by contemporary humanitarianism and played a material part in the mobilization of public sentiment in support of the reform movements. History writing was reduced to a more scientific basis, as a result of the work of Von Ranke and his school. Factual accuracy, objective approach, and strictly inductive methods replaced the standards of the literary

school, typified by the works of Macaulay, Parkman, Motley, Green, and Milman.

Musical composition, which had flowered so brilliantly in the eighteenth century, culminated in the great symphonies of Beethoven, Brahms, and Tchaikovsky. The supremacy of the Italian operatic school, represented by Verdi, Rossini, and Donizetti, was challenged by Wagner's immortal works, based largely on German mythology, and the productions of Bizet, Gounod, and others of the French school.

The period was not a creative one in architecture and sculpture. In the plastic arts, however, landscape painting assumed an important position with the work of Constable and Turner in England and Rousseau, Daubigny, and Corot in France. Millet pioneered with his great studies of peasant life. Growing emphasis on realism produced the impressionistic movement, led by Renoir, Monet, and Whistler, in which essentials, rather than exact details, were sought. Extreme impressionism has produced the radical symbolism and futurism of our time, the exponents of which strive to rid art of convention and imitation.

XXI

NATIONALISM IN ITALY AND GERMANY

The failure of the diplomats at Vienna to recognize the growing spirit of nationalism in Italy and Germany was one of their major blunders. The interference of Napoleon in Italian affairs, while not in behalf of Italian unification, had tended to ensure it. By reducing the states of the peninsula to three, under his general supervision, he had effected a degree of political unity; by the introduction of French administrative reforms, he had improved the lot of the populace. This condition did not endure long after the decided reversal in policy of 1815. Italy became, as a consequence, a mere "geographical expression." The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, including Naples and the island of Sicily, had been returned to the Bourbons, thus providing a single government for South Italy. The States of the Church, which Napoleon had seized, were returned after the emperor's abdication; they now stretched completely across Central Italy, serving to prevent rather than to aid ultimate unification. The Duchies of Lucca, Parma, Tuscany, and Modena had been placed under Austrian princes so that they, along with the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, were under Austrian domination. To add further to Austrian influence in the peninsula, the rich kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia had become a part of Austria, although under its own administrative system. Northwest Italy, Piedmont, Savoy, and Genoa had become parts of the independent Kingdom of Sardinia. Because Sardinia maintained aloofness from Austrian influence, she was to serve as the nucleus for the unification of the Italian states and their ultimate liberation from the Austrian yoke. For this reason, the kingdom had an importance which might well be likened in certain of its aspects to the rôle of Prussia in Germany. During the five years following 1815, however, the domestic policy of the restored King Victor Emmanuel I was marked by extreme reaction.

The conservative reaction which ensued after the Congress of Vienna was characterized in Italy by ignorance and stupidity. The inquisition was revived in the Papal States. The restoration of the Spanish Bourbons in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies fastened governmental corruption and a harsh absolutism on its people. The economic status of the Italian masses was deplorable; liberty of the press and individual freedom were practically nonexistent. Worst of all in the eyes of a growing number of Italian nationalists was the fact that Italy was dominated by Austria, the power which was leading the march of European reaction. Under the circumstances there could be but little hope of improvement in the political status of the peninsula. The repressive measures which the powers took for the preservation of the *status quo* have been described in another connection. In Italy, as in Germany, secret societies disseminated nationalistic idealism and spread revolutionary doctrines. The *Carbonari* (Charcoal burners) was the best known of the early organizations. The secret order spread rapidly from Naples and aimed to eliminate the influence of Austria. The furtive nature of this society makes it rather difficult to assign it a definite place in the revolutionary movements of the 1820's and '30's. Perhaps its chief function was to create and to preserve an undercover spirit of Italian nationalism.

Napoleon's work was an incentive to Italian patriots. They could hardly forget that he had removed every Italian ruler from power. It was natural for them to believe that such things could be accomplished anew. The lid was off with news of the successful Spanish revolt in 1820. Ferdinand I, King of the two Sicilies, had been unreasonably severe in his treatment of the soldiers who had served under his predecessor, Murat, and had, as a consequence, made so many enemies that the soldiers rebelled. The revolt assumed such proportions that the king was forced to accede to their demand for the adoption of the Spanish Constitution of 1812.

While the Spanish revolt had troubled Metternich, the proximity of the Neopolitan rebellion to the Austrian domain caused him to convoke the powers of the Quintuple Alliance at Troppau with a

view to intervention. He reasoned that unless the revolt was checked, it would assume epidemic proportions. Of the five powers, only Russia, Austria, and Prussia, agreed to the principle of intervention as interpreted by Metternich. England held that the Alliance had no business meddling with the particular form of government a people might choose. England's attitude was based on her interpretation of the purposes for which the Quintuple Alliance had been formed. Those purposes she held to be the preservation of the boundaries of 1815, and not any particular form of government. When, at the second congress, held at Laibach, Ferdinand I declared he had made liberal concessions because of a display of military force, Austria was commissioned to restore him to absolute power. The result of Austria's invasion of Naples was a foregone conclusion. The ill-prepared Neopolitan patriots were quickly routed and absolutism restored (1821). A second storm of unreasoned reaction fell on the unfortunate people.

As Metternich had foreseen, the revolutionary spirit was contagious. Naples had hardly been suppressed when dissatisfied Piedmontese broke out in rebellion against the reactionary policies of King Victor Emmanuel I. The revolt was motivated as well by hatred of Austria and a desire for constitutional government. The rebels demanded the adoption of the Spanish Constitution of 1812 tantamount to war with Austria. The dilemma of the Sardinian king was serious. He might refuse these demands and provoke a civil war, or he might accede and face armed intervention as had been the experience of Naples. He chose to avoid the issue by abdicating in March, 1821. Charles Albert, as temporary regent, accepted the Spanish Constitution of 1812, but an already mobilized Austrian army made quick work of the unorganized Sardinian forces. The Austrians placed Victor Emmanuel's brother, Charles Felix, on the throne of Sardinia with full and absolute powers.

The ten years of Austrian domination which followed the suppression of the revolts in Naples, Piedmont, and Spain were sorry years for the peoples concerned. Insurrectionary activity of societies like the *Carbonari* increased apace. In 1831, Napoleon's empress, Marie

Louise, who had become the Duchess of Parma in 1815, was forced to leave her state as was the Prince of Modena. The incompetent ecclesiastical government of the Papal States led to further revolt during which almost every major urban center except Rome declared itself independent of the pope's temporal authority. Austrian troops restored the two rulers of Parma and Modena and returned the rebellious cities to the Papal States. A second insurrection broke out in the following year in the pope's domain, but now Louis Philippe of France, as well as the Austrians, sent troops. These forces remained in Italy until 1838, jockeying for a European balance of power. Both the revolutionary attempts of 1820-1821 and 1831-1832 had been suppressed with Austrian arms. An important tendency of the movement must be noted. The first revolutions had been the work of anarchists, dissatisfied military men, and others who were in a distinct minority. The second series of revolts had the support of many in the middle and lower classes who had been educated to the movement through the secret activities of organizations like the *Carbonari.*

The Italian revolutionary movements had failed because they were too local in their nature. The nationalistic spirit had not become widespread because the loosely knit *Carbonari* were unable to attain the unity within their own organization that they desired for Italy. During the decade and a half which followed the last abortive attempt in the Papal States, a number of Italian leaders began an educational campaign which emphasized the teaching of common Italian ideals and aspirations. Most influential in this group of patriots was Joseph Mazzini. Son of a Genoese physician and professor, he attained early maturity of intellect. His impressionable mind understood the sorrowful plight of a once great people, and he abandoned a promising literary career for the rôle of a nationalistic propagandist. Possessed of the soul of a visionary, of untiring zeal, and an effective literary style, he became the prophet of Italian unity. He was arrested in 1830 when suspected of connections with the *Carbonari,* and sentenced to a half-year of imprisonment. After

his release, he went into English exile which lasted for most of his life.

In 1831, Mazzini organized the secret order known as "Young Italy." It was planned as a secret revolutionary society of Italians under forty years of age, which would not only lead the revolution but lay the foundations of a United Republic of Italy. While Mazzini possessed genius for leadership in a great faith, he was singularly lacking in the practical requisites of a revolutionist aiming at the military humiliation of Austria. Other radicals held that his belief in the ultimate unification of Italy was fallacious. They insisted that what Italy really desired was independence, not necessarily a united Italy. They believed that this could be more effectively obtained through a federation of the Italian states for defensive and offensive purposes. Still others proposed a federation of Italy under the leadership of the papacy. The development of a sentiment of unity, or federation, could have but a single consequence, and that, the continued growth of the nationalistic spirit. Certainly, the idealistic, though revolutionary, aims of "Young Italy" could gain greater support than those of the anarchistic *Carbonari.*

The day for which so many had hoped came in 1848. The February Revolution in France, which resulted in the deposition of Louis Philippe, has been dealt with elsewhere. The year of revolutions would undoubtedly have come anyway, but France was to fan the flames of a general European conflagration again. The aged Metternich followed the march of events with foreboding, but found himself no longer able to thwart the forces of liberalism. In March the Hungarian patriot, Louis Kossuth, demanded that Austria grant Hungary governmental institutions of her own. When, a few days later, the Austrian troops refused to suppress riots in Vienna on orders from Metternich, he realized that his day had come. The aged prince resigned and fled in disguise. During the weeks which followed, Hungary obtained autonomy under a liberal government and the success of the Magyar movement seemed assured. Hungarians gained a free press, control of their own military forces, equalization of taxes, the abolition of titles, and an expanded

electorate. But Magyar refusal to grant minority rights to the Slavs complicated the situation. Late in 1848, in a most remarkable recovery, the Austrians crushed the Hungarians. Ferdinand of Austria abdicated in favor of his eighteen-year-old nephew, Francis Joseph I (who ruled till 1916), in order that the liberal concessions and promises he had made to Hungary might be legally repealed. Hungary, under Kossuth's leadership, declared her independence in 1849, but Russia intervened to aid the new Austrian ruler. As a consequence Hungary was relegated to the status of an Austrian province.

When the conservative ministry in Austria fell, liberals in Germany arranged for the meeting of a German national assembly with a view to drawing up a tentative constitution for a united Germany. The problems which the delegates to this assembly faced will be treated in another connection but it deserves mention at this point because it indicates the widespread character of the nationalistic fervor of the peoples of Europe. Let it suffice for the moment to say that the aims of the Frankfort Parliament met with failure and the Germanies returned to the old and reactionary forms of government.

The rebirth of strong reactionary forces in Austria following the Hungarian revolt has been noted. Revived Austrian armies successfully crushed the unsupported Piedmontese under Charles Albert (1831-1849), at Custozza in late July, 1848, but harsh treatment of the vanquished Italians served to steel Charles Albert for the War of Italian Liberation. He renewed the conflict in the following year, but again failed to receive the aid of Central and South Italy. Meanwhile Rome was declared a republic, with Mazzini in a leading position, and the pope was forced into Neopolitan exile. When Charles Albert was defeated at Novara in March, 1849, he abdicated in favor of his son Victor Emmanuel II. Charles Albert became something of a national hero, a martyr to the cause of Italian unity; by twice risking his throne, he turned all Italian eyes on the House of Savoy as that which could best lead the cause of Italian freedom.

Victor Emmanuel was a competent, if not a brilliant, ruler. He was sincere, conscientious, and honest. Less than two years after his

coronation he was to have as his minister one of the ablest political minds in all Europe. Count Cavour was born of noble Piedmontese stock in 1810. He was trained as an army engineer but left the service when twenty-one years of age to spend some fifteen years in the study and practice of scientific agriculture. He sponsored improved farming methods, machinery, improved transportation methods and the like. He found time for travel and study of governmental problems, and especially the parliamentary system of England. His practical mind was an absolute opposite of that possessed by Mazzini, though both had the same end in view. Cavour envisioned a morally united Italian nation which he would bring into being, by such practical means as centralized communications systems, a nation with centrally located Rome as the capital. When, in 1847, freedom of the press was permitted in Sardinia, he left his quiet pursuits for the rôle of an editor. As the outstanding proponent of the parliamentary system, he was one of the first members of the new Sardinian parliament in 1848. He entered the cabinet two years later and became prime minister in 1852. The successful termination of his plans for the creation of a powerful and united Italy warrants detailed observation of the actual methods employed. To take advantage of the natural supremacy which the House of Savoy had won for Sardinia in the leadership of Italy, he aimed at raising the kingdom to the economic status of a modern state. To enhance the prosperity of the little state, he increased expenditures on public works to unheard-of sums, thus expanding commerce, trade, and industry. In spite of the huge governmental debts and obligations incurred, the status of the people was improved so materially and so rapidly that the kingdom itself achieved a degree of affluence hitherto unknown. His next steps were to increase and modernize the army, to build up a fleet, and to construct and improve the kingdom's fortifications. The support of an army of almost 100,000 men, a huge number in relation to the total population, did not become an intolerable burden because of the improved economic status of the people. Cavour's primary purpose was, of course, to rid Italy of Austrian influence; but in spite of the sound economic condition of the country, in spite of the strong

and well-equipped army, Sardinia was no match for the Austrians. Full realization of this fact caused Cavour to seek aid of a strong ally. Thus it was that the kingdom of Sardinia furnished forces to France and England in the Crimean War against Russia. This was an unpopular measure within the little kingdom, for it had no connection with the causes leading to the outbreak of the conflict. Cavour, however, was looking ahead in the hope that eventually an alliance would result which would give his nation the necessary strength to challenge the Austrian Empire.

A peace conference was held in Paris following the Crimean War. Cavour gained admittance by virtue of Sardinia's contribution. Before these European diplomats, he condemned Austrian domination of Italian affairs and heard others castigate the rulers of the Papal States and Naples. Cavour's material gains at Paris were few, but his moral victory was great and served to enhance the prestige of his kingdom. In playing for the support of some major European power against Austria, Cavour found that Napoleon III was already interested. He had taken part in Italian revolutions; he had developed the belief that a single nationality should of right be under a single government; and he was desirous of abrogating the treaties of 1815 which marked the final degradation of the first Napoleon.

Such sentiments on the part of the French Emperor made it natural that a meeting should take place between the two interested individuals. This occurred secretly at a watering place in the Vosges mountains during July, 1858. There, Napoleon III verbally agreed that if Austria could be made to appear as the aggressor in any war with Sardinia, France would come to the aid of the smaller nation. No peace was to be made until Austria had been driven out of Italy. In return for this service, France was to gain Savoy and Nice. Cavour did his utmost to embroil Austria in war during the months which followed this secret meeting of the two highly placed conspirators. He was rewarded for his efforts eventually, and Austria, goaded into a declaration of war against Sardinia, found herself confronted by France as well. Austria appeared the aggressor to all Europe at the outbreak of hostilities in April, 1859. The Austrian

high command erred when it failed to crush the Sardinians in the early weeks of the war. With the arrival of the French troops in June, two major battles, those of Magenta and Solferino, were won by the French-Sardinian allies. The scene of the fighting was Lombardy. When it appeared that Austria would be forced out of Italy, Napoleon halted his victorious armies and arranged the Armistice of Villafranca (July 11, 1859) without consulting the Sardinians. The reasons for this armistice were multiple and reasonable enough from the French and Austrian points of view, but the cessation of hostilities came as a heartbreaking shock to the hopeful Italian patriots. Cavour resigned his office in despair, but Victor Emmanuel II saw that all was not lost and refused to accept the resignation. The preliminary arrangements of the Armistice were incorporated in the Peace of Zurich, November, 1859. By its terms, Sardinia gained Lombardy. France made no claims to Nice or Savoy. The other terms of the treaty were never adhered to and need no repetition at this point.

During the course of the Austro-Sardinian War, Parma, Modena, Tuscany, and the northern portion of the Papal States overthrew their rulers and in revolutionary assemblies voted in favor of annexation to Sardinia. England favored the scheme; Napoleon was ready to accede in return for Savoy and Nice. Plebiscites were held in each of the states concerned during 1860, which resulted to the addition of Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and the Romagna to the Kingdom of Sardinia, and of Savoy and Nice to France. The arrangements thus consummated completely disrupted the treaties of 1815 which had made Italy a "geographical expression" for so long. Sardinia now controlled all North Italy except Venetia; only Naples and the Papal States on the peninsula remained without the fold.

Rebellion broke out in Sicily during the early months of 1860. The arbitrary and despotic character of the new Bourbon King, Francis II, provided the excuse for revolt. The movement afforded opportunity to one of the most romantic characters in Italian history to perform notable service in the cause of Italian unification. Joseph Garibaldi was born three years earlier than Cavour in the region lost

NINETEENTH CENTURY ITALY

to France during 1860. He spent his early life on the sea, as an adherent to the cause of "Young Italy," and as a guerilla chieftain. His part in the abortive Savoy insurrection of 1834 forced him into South American exile. There he added to his romantic reputation by service in the "Italian Legion." He returned to Italy to lead volunteers against the Austrians in 1848—to Rome as defender of the Republic in 1849. Again he was harried from his native Italy. He returned eventually to the island of Caprera in 1854. The Austrian war in 1859 brought him out of retirement again to lead volunteers in the Italian cause. When he received news of the Sicilian revolt, he determined to lend his aid. His reputation as a leader ensured him sufficient support to carry out his plans. Cavour found that Garibaldi's determination was embarrassing to Sardinia. With characteristic diplomatic tact, Cavour secretly abetted the scheme, while maintaining official aloofness. With a force numbering little over 1,100 (the "Red Shirts" or "The Thousand"), Garibaldi gained control of Sicily from an opposing army numbering over 20,000 men. He proclaimed himself dictator of the island under Victor Emmanuel II, during August, 1860.

This accomplished, Garibaldi moved across to the mainland. He faced a Bourbon force numbering close to 100,000, but the Kingdom of Naples collapsed with very little resistance and a minimum of bloodshed. The amazing rapidity and the phenomenal success of Garibaldi's conquest seems without parallel in recent times. He next proposed a march on Rome. Since the pope was under the protection of a French garrison, Cavour realized that this would bring foreign intervention unless properly controlled. Cavour therefore came to an understanding with Napoleon III under which the Sardinian troops defeated the papal forces but permitted the pope to retain Rome. Victor Emmanuel then marched his forces south into Naples, defeated the remaining Neopolitan forces, and accepted the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies from Garibaldi in Naples. In plebiscites held in Sicily, Naples, and the Papal States, except Rome, the vote was overwhelmingly in favor of annexation to Piedmont-Sardinia. Thus was all Italy, except Rome and Venetia, brought

under a single king by 1860. Garibaldi declined all honors and returned to his island farm with but limited funds and a supply of seed beans. The Kingdom of Sardinia was proclaimed the Kingdom of Italy on March 17, 1861. The names of Charles Albert, Mazzini, Cavour, Victor Emmanuel II, and Garibaldi must remain inseparably connected with this great achievement.

Italy allied herself with Prussia during the Seven Weeks' War (1866) against Austria. The Italian troops were defeated at Custozza, but their participation served to detain a sufficient number of Austrian troops in the south to guarantee Prussian success in the northern theater of the war. Italy's compensation was Venetia, which Austria agreed to cede to her in the Preliminaries of Nikolsburg (July, 1866). Italy had attained geographic unity with the single exception of Rome.

Cavour became intensely interested in obtaining Rome as the capital of the kingdom during his last days. At his instance the Italian parliament passed a declaration to the effect that Rome must eventually become the center of Italian government. At the moment any attempt to depose the pope from his temporal throne would have brought certain French intervention. There was enough work to do by way of organization and consolidation without taxing the newly formed kingdom with such a test of strength. The Italian policy was therefore one of watchful waiting. The opportunity occurred during the Franco-Prussian War (1870). French military necessity forced the withdrawal of the garrison from Rome. This made it possible for Victor Emmanuel to march into Rome with but slight resistance from the papal forces. Thus was Italian unity achieved; Rome was again the Italian capital. The pope, in protest, retired into the Vatican.

THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

German solidarity was undoubtedly promoted by the Reformation, but the movement lost virility because of the jealousies of the duchies, principalities, and kingdoms. The most important trend towards German unity, prior to the outbreak of the French Revolutionary Wars,

was the emergence of Prussia as a great power; the opportunity for leadership was to come to her time and again. The multitude of lesser German states, under nominal Austrian domination, precluded unification until Napoleon destroyed the Holy Roman Empire (1803) and partially consolidated some hundreds of South German states into the Confederation of the Rhine (1806), composed of about forty states, with Austria excluded. The Congress of Vienna, had it adhered strictly to the "legitimacy" rule, would have re-created these several hundred German states which had been eliminated in the consolidation process initiated by Bonaparte. Instead, the congress retained a degree of the unification already effected. At Metternich's instance, it organized the German Confederation which varied in membership from thirty-three to thirty-nine states.

The constitution of this loose confederation provided a diet under the permanent presidency of Austria. Representatives of the rulers in each of the thirty-odd states acted as ambassadors in this diet. These representatives could act only on instructions. The procedure of the diet was most complicated. It could meet in either ordinary or *plenum* sessions. In the first, general matters were discussed and settled by a majority vote; in the second, only the more important matters were introduced, and these required a two-thirds vote for action. The larger states had more votes in the diet than the smaller ones, but the distribution of voting strength was notably inequitable in relation to the population. It was possible for the less populated states decisively to outvote the populous ones. The ineptitude of the confederation seems best illustrated by the fact that no constitutional provision was made for federal tax levies, for the maintenance of an army, or for a federal flag. The establishment of this weak machinery of federal government immeasurably retarded the German unification movement. Nationalistic aspirations, voiced by men of Baron Stein's type, were unrealized. The ineffective German Confederation was counterbalanced in part, however, by Prussia's establishment, in 1833, of a customs union (*Zollverein*).

Austrian domination in the diet and Metternich's intervention in purely German affairs served to fasten a policy of reaction on the

Germanies for nearly a half century. A case in point was Metternich's insistence, following the Wartburg Festival (1817) and the assassination of the publicist Kotzebue (1818), on repressive measures which culminated in the famous Carlsbad Decrees of 1819. The Congress of Vienna had promised constitutions to the various states in the new German Confederation. Frederick William III promised Prussia a constitution during the "Hundred Days," but the promise was repudiated. Agitation was continued by secret societies like the *Burshchenschaften* and athletic organizations like the *Turnvereine,* The French Revolution of 1830 gave Germans an opportunity to demand concessions from reactionary princes in Hesse, Brunswick, Saxony, Bavaria, and Hanover. Metternich reduced the value of these constitutional reforms by forcing through the diet an edict which declared void all extorted reforms. Such policies aroused German radicals and liberals as never before, but the feeling was confined within student ranks for the most part. The formation of the *Zollverein* served to enhance prosperity and to bind the smaller German states to Prussia.

The death of Frederick William III (1840) revived the constitutional question. Many believed that Prussian leadership in Germany would be advanced by the adoption of a liberal constitution. Although the new king, Frederick William IV, brought back many exiled liberals, discontent with his general policies increased apace. In 1847, he called a general diet, not to draw up a constitution, but to secure funds for railroad construction. The dismissal of this diet brought the issue between king and people to a head. In the following year, France established a republic; the smaller German states revolted and were granted constitutions without much disturbance. Rioting which broke out in Berlin was promptly suppressed on orders from Frederick William IV. In retribution, a mob forced the king to bow before the corpses of those slain by his soldiers.

Meanwhile, machinery was established for calling a national parliament to prepare a constitution for all Germany. This Frankfort Parliament opened in May, 1848, and deliberated for more than a year. Weeks and months were wasted in argument over fundamental

principles. The question of whether all Austria, or just its German portions should be included under the new constitution was one of the most serious problems before the Parliament. When Austria refused to yield her ascendency, the Parliament offered the constitution and the throne to Frederick William IV. The Prussian ruler spurned the proposal; the conservative element in the Frankfort Parliament accordingly withdrew. Control of the assemblage fell into the hands of the radicals who were ultimately forcibly dispersed. No immediate benefits resulted, but the ultimate unification of the Germanies had been advanced nonetheless.

Although the Frankfort Parliament had failed to provide all Germany with a constitution, Frederick William granted one to Prussia in 1850. However, parliamentary and ministerial responsibility under it were abolished by interpretation. While political conditions continued deplorable, economic conditions materially improved during the period from 1850 to 1860. This was due to rapid modernization of industry and agriculture, the establishment of better banking facilities, and widespread commercial developments. Especially important was the development of the vast mineral deposits in Germany. Industry absorbed thousands of agricultural laborers. In the urban centers, speculation became the order of the day. Modern business methods, which took full advantage of scientific contributions and improved means of communication, were rapidly adopted.

Frederick William IV became mentally incapacitated and was succeeded by his brother, William I, who served first as regent, and in 1861, became king in his own right. Whereas his predecessor was most erratic, William I seems best characterized as "level headed." He had seen service against Napoleon and had spent his entire career in the army. As a consequence, he had a thorough knowledge of military affairs. To his practical mind, the army was essential if Prussia was to unite the Germanies. It will be recalled that universal compulsory military training became the Prussian practice, as early as 1814. Although the population of Prussia had increased by fifty per cent in the interval between that date and 1859, the army remained at the old limits established in 1814. William I determined

that the law must be enforced, the army increased, and the whole military establishment renovated. Provisional appropriations were granted by the Prussian Parliament for the additional regiments, but in 1862, the Chamber of Deputies absolutely refused to vote further sums to continue the king's army reforms. The constitutional question (under the Constitution of 1850), of whether the king as commander-in-chief of the army could get funds for its operation, or whether the Parliament had full control over the purse strings, thus came to a deadlock. William declined to abolish the Parliament since he had sworn to support the Constitution of 1850. He refused to give up his army reforms as well, and consequently signed his abdication.

As a last resort, he called to head the ministry an audacious monarchist, Otto von Bismarck (September, 1862). Born in 1815, Bismarck was of the Brandenburg nobility. He had received a university training, had served in the Prussian civil service, and had acted the rôle of a country gentleman on the family estates. He entered politics in 1847 and opposed the adoption of a constitution; when it was granted, however, he supported it. He was an outspoken monarchist who insisted that Prussia was great because of her kings, not her people. He was appointed as Prussia's delegate to the reassembled diet in 1851, where he became adept in diplomacy and acquainted with representatives from all over Germany. In 1859, he was sent to Saint Petersburg. By this time, he had developed into a Prussian egoist, who looked on Austria as an enemy to Prussian advancement.

In the four years following 1862, conflict over the army bills continued, except that the opposition of the lower house was disregarded by the administration; the taxes were collected and the army reforms completed. The modernization of the army was but a first step in the plan Bismarck had evolved for the creation of a united Germany. He desired no unity like that achieved through Cavour's planning in Italy. There was to be no German absorption of Prussia, but Prussian absorption of the Germanies for her own advantage. The liberal plan for a modern Prussian constitution, about which the rest

of the Germanies would rally, was rudely thrust aside when, in 1863, Bismarck announced his famous "blood and iron" policy.

Before considering Bismarck's application of the "blood and iron" policy, let us briefly review his treatment of the pressing domestic problem of State Socialism. The Marxian ideal was widely disseminated in Germany, but, paradoxically enough, socialism of a nationalistic nature was to have much greater import in Germany than Marxian internationalism. This was accomplished chiefly by the efforts of a brilliant and self-centered socialist named Ferdinand Lasalle. Lasalle, although rich and self-indulgent, became an early advocate for the laboring masses. Of his many ideas and schemes, the one most important to us at this point was his belief that only through the acquisition of political power by the proletariat could a social revolution be accomplished. He organized, therefore, a German laborers' party in 1863, but lost his life in a foolish duel the following year. In South Germany, at about the same time, a Marxian disciple named William Liebknecht organized a group of Internationalists, which under the more popular leadership of August Bebel became a second powerful labor party in 1869. By 1875, the two groups had fused together as the Socialistic Working Men's Party of Germany. The increasing importance of this party was extremely distasteful to the aging king; to Bismarck, their rising importance called for action. The opportunity occurred when, in 1878, two attempts were made on the life of William I, by socialists. Bismarck obtained the passage of a law forbidding the formation of organized groups, the holding of meetings, or the dissemination of propaganda which might be subversive to the interests of the state. The law was strictly enforced; socialists were denied the protection of the courts. It is hardly necessary to say that such repressive measures failed to attain their full purpose. Bismarck went further; he determined to eliminate the basis of the socialistic organization by ameliorating the conditions of the working classes. Social reform became for him a means of creating state patriotism and support for the monarchy which granted such benefits. His proposals were too liberal for immediate acceptance. Between 1883 and 1889, sickness, accident,

and old age insurance acts were passed. Thus we find that the conservative Bismarck fought socialism with socialism.

In conformity with the policies of the "Iron Chancellor," Prussia waged three wars between 1864 and 1870; the major result was national unity by the creation of the German Empire. The first war grew out of the complicated Schleswig-Holstein question. The duke of these two states had become the king of Denmark; the Danes desired to annex them. The population was predominantly German. The problem was intensified when Denmark, in her new constitution (1863), incorporated Schleswig in the kingdom. The German diet proposed the dispatch of an army to prevent this action. Bismarck, however, obtained Austrian support and issued an impossible ultimatum to Denmark. War was declared, troops moved against Denmark, and foreign intervention prevented. In the Treaty of Vienna (October, 1864), Denmark ceded the duchies to Austria and Prussia. The question of their disposition provided Bismarck with the basis for a quarrel with Austria. Austria was not prepared to go to war over the question, and William I could see no good reason for fratricidal conflict, so the matter was temporarily compromised in the Convention of Gastein (August, 1865). By its terms, Austria and Prussia were to own the duchies jointly, but Austria was to rule Holstein while Prussia assumed control of Schleswig.

The Convention of Gastein served as a one-year stopgap. During that period, Bismarck conferred with Napoleon III at Biarritz, in an effort to obtain French neutrality in the event of a Prussian war with Austria. He next completed a secret alliance with Italy (April, 1866), which to become effective required the commencement of hostilities within ninety days. The steps by which Prussia and Austria were brought into this conflict were as numerous as they were devious, and require no elucidation here. Bismarck entered the war, nominally for the reform of the German Confederation, actually to displace Austrian leadership and secure territorial gains. The conflict began June 16, and was officially over by July 26, 1866; it is known as the "Seven Weeks' War." The modernized Prussian army was prepared and, moreover, was led by the brilliant General von Moltke.

Within two weeks, North Germany was under Prussian control. Von Moltke then dispatched three armies into Bohemia, where at Sadowa (July 3, 1866), the greatest battle since Leipzig was won by the Prussians. Some ten days before, the Austrians had routed the Italians at Custozza (June 24, 1866). The South German states were defeated in rapid order; when Bismarck feared that Napoleon might intervene, he granted Austria liberal terms in the Preliminary Peace of Nikolsburg. The definitive peace was signed at Prague (August 23, 1866). Under the terms of these treaties, Venetia went to Ialy, Austria withdrew from the German Confederation, and agreed that Prussia might form a new one, north of the river Main. Without resort to plebiscites, the states of North Germany were annexed to Prussia in the period which followed. This was done by right of conquest, not by the expressed consent of the people governed. The regions annexed were Hanover, Nassau, Hesse Cassel, Frankfort, Schleswig, and Holstein. The constitution of the new North German Confederation, drawn up by Bismarck, was to serve as the basis for that adopted by the German Empire.

France had been caught napping while Bismarck accomplished this rapid realignment of the European balance of power. Napoleon III had misjudged the situation, when he predicted that the war would be a long one and to the advantage of France. The brevity of the conflict, as well as the decisive nature of the victory of Sadowa, caused it to be considered as much a French as an Austrian defeat. Napoleon's Mexican venture was fast drawing to an inglorious end. When he opposed Prussian control of territory south of the Main, he gave Prussia excuse for a third war, one which Bismarck faced with equanimity. At this juncture, Spain invited a Hohenzollern to accept the vacant throne. The youthful Leopold thrice declined at the request of William I. Bismarck, however, prevailed on the king to permit Leopold's acceptance, since France would be hemmed in on two sides, or provoked into war with Prussia. The prince accepted the fourth invitation, but when the indignant French protested, he retracted; William I breathed a sigh of relief.

The elation of France at this diplomatic success knew no bounds; she now demanded that the Prussian king promise that he would never again permit a Hohenzollern candidacy for the Spanish throne. The king politely declined, since the matter had already been settled, and wired the substance of the French request from Ems (a watering place) to Bismarck. By condensing the message, Bismarck made it appear that the Prussian king had sharply rebuffed the French ambassador, and turned the telegram over to the press. On its publication in Paris, jingoists demanded immediate war. The government hesitated for several days, since public opinion throughout France was by no means crystallized. Finally, on July 19, 1870, war was declared.

France was totally unprepared. Her army was not in the same class with the Prussian military machine in equipment, numbers, or leadership. France had no alliances, even with friendly Austria; she could expect no aid from either Italy or England. Russia and Prussia had come to terms. The first stage in the progress of the war resulted in the encirclement of one French army at Metz. A second one was defeated by the Prussians at Sedan and Napoleon III taken prisoner (September 1-2, 1870). On September 4, Ferry, Favre, and Gambetta proclaimed the establishment of the French Republic and established a National Defence Government for the conduct of the war. Gambetta organized the nation for an heroic defense of the soil of France, but there could be little hope of success. With one French army bottled up at Metz, and the other crushed at Sedan, the Prussians moved towards Paris, which surrendered after a siege of four months.

Bismarck's labors to unite the Germanies were consummated at the Palace of Versailles, when on January 18, 1871, William I was crowned emperor of Germany. Under the definitive Treaty of Frankfort (May, 1871), France ceded practically all of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany, and agreed to pay a billion dollar indemnity within five years. An army of occupation was to remain in France until the indemnity was paid. The results of the Franco-Prussian War were important to the future peace of Europe. The outstanding

result was the unification of the Germanies, which meant Prussianization as well. The harsh terms which Bismarck forced on France left an open wound, which was one day to provoke terrible retaliation. The second Napoleonic Empire was displaced by the Third Republic. Alsace and Lorraine, though German in their origins had become French through the passage of time; their annexation by Germany was to serve as the basis of an international problem about which events were to turn in 1914.

The German Empire was erected on the constitutional pattern outlined by Bismarck for the North German Confederation. This revised document, adopted shortly after the close of the war, became effective in April, 1871. It provided for a confederation, composed of some twenty-five states and one territory. A bicameral parliament was composed of a powerful *Bundesrat,* or upper house, made up of representatives of the rulers of the various states, and the *Reichstag,* composed of nearly 400 elected representatives. Ministerial responsibility was to the emperor, not to the Parliament. The emperor's chief official was the chancellor. This constitution, under three successive emperors, lasted until the close of the World War.

BOOK SIX

THE WORLD WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH

XXII

IMPERIALISM IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

The voyages of exploration of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries led to a great wave of European expansion. Colonial rivalry was in large measure the fundamental cause of the wars of the eighteenth century. With the Treaty of Paris (1763) which closed the Seven Years' War, England emerged victorious in her duel with France for colonial mastery. North America was in her undisputed possession as were also the riches of India. The first period of imperialism closed with the American Revolution the effect of which was to engender a skepticism as to the feasibility of profitable colonial ventures. Repudiation of the mercantilist theory likewise contributed to this end.

Interest in imperialistic projects was renewed, however, by the middle of the nineteenth century. The primary cause of this revival was the Industrial Revolution. Expanded production, resulting from the mechanization of industry, made imperative the acquisition of new markets which the development of colonial domains promised to afford. The demands of the new industry for ores, oil, cotton, wool, rubber, and other materials, were progressively more insatiable. Exploitation of regions rich in natural resources seemed the logical solution to the problem. Industrial expansion, with the attendant large profits, brought about accumulation of surplus capital. Imperialistic ventures offered attractive prospect for profitable employment of idle capital; since governments assumed the major responsibility for the protection of foreign interests, the risks involved in such investments were commensurately low. Population growth, technological displacement of workers, and recurrent periods of unemployment due to business fluctuations also were problems aggravated

by the Industrial Revolution. Colonies promised to alleviate these conditions by furnishing outlets for surplus population.

Humanitarianism and religion also played a material part in nineteenth century imperialism. Humanitarianism was a natural implication of the deist teachings; it was powerfully stimulated by the religious revival of the eighteenth century, especially by the Methodist movement. Backward regions of the world were the charge of enlightened countries. It was the "white man's burden" to foster education, vanquish superstition, and introduce the material blessings of western civilization. Apologists for imperialism cited the construction of roads and railways, the introduction of sanitation, and the modernization of industry as indubitable proofs of the benefits derived by subjugated peoples. While, to be sure, the profit of individuals and companies was the exclusive motive for these improvements, it was easy to palliate the exploitation of defenseless peoples by simulated altruism. Missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, labored arduously, often heroically, to bring Christianity to the heathen in distant places; they often were the unwilling allies of those whose purposes were more material.

The prevalent scientific interest also stimulated imperialism. Exploration, collection of rare flora and fauna, the quest for anthropological knowledge, frequently impelled the dispatch of expeditions into hitherto unknown regions. Desire for adventure was just as potent as in the days of the great voyages of exploration; there still were frontiers to be pushed forward, primitive dangers to be challenged.

Epoch-making inventions brought the nations of the world into ever closer contact. Far-flung commercial interests necessitated the acquisition of docking and coaling facilities for the vessels that plied the ship lanes. Navies were needed to defend holdings which often were at great distances; it was consequently imperative that naval bases be acquired at strategic points. These factors, too, played a part in the scramble of the European nations for colonies, protectorates, and spheres of influence.

Imperialism was a natural concomitant to nationalistic fervor. Colonial holdings enhanced national prestige; failure to attain coveted

prizes was a blow to "national honor." Statesmen fostered the delusion that imperialism promoted employment and raised the standard of living of the masses. As a matter of fact, the profits and benefits were for the few; the general populace bore the burden of taxation imposed by the staggering expense of developing and protecting colonial interests. Seldom has the confusion between selfish and national interests been more palpable. Indeed, thorough study has irrefutably demonstrated the falsity of most of the premises upon which the justification of imperialism has rested.

A discussion of imperialism naturally centers in the British Empire. The War of the American Revolution proved to be not the end but the beginning of empire. In the main the causes for the accentuated interest in British imperialism were the same as those which produced the general European movement. The major dependencies of Britain are known as dominions; they enjoy self-government, with but nominal subordination to the Crown. The most important of these dominions is Canada, with an area of about 3,750,000 square miles, a population of approximately 13,000,000 and a wide range of natural resources and economic interests. The Treaty of Utrecht, which closed the War of the Spanish Succession, awarded Nova Scotia and Hudson Bay to Britain. Halifax ultimately was established and the French Acadians expelled. A great duel between the English and French, with their respective Indian and colonial allies, ensued. By 1763, the Seven Years' War left England in undisputed possession of the vast domain which thereupon was provisionally governed by royal proclamation. The initial step towards the solution of the governmental and administrative problems created by the acquisition of Canada was the passage of the Quebec Act of 1774. Boundaries of the province were declared to extend westward to the Mississippi and south to the Ohio. It is now known that this threat to the western claims of the American Colonies was an important cause of the Revolution. French civil law was adopted in conjunction with English criminal procedure. The Roman Catholic Church retained all its old privileges; the alliance of the church and the landowners with

the English government was expected to ensure the success of the new regime.

During the Revolution, various projects of union with the colonies were attempted. Sir Guy Carleton ably defended Canada; by the close of the war, major danger of separation from Britain was averted. About 40,000 British sympathizers fled from the colonies to take refuge in Canada during the course of the Revolution. The influx of these United Empire Loyalists made mandatory alterations in the government of Canada commensurate with the new ratio of English and French in the province. Claims of the loyalists for compensation for property they had lost were rebuffed by the United States; England subsequently partially liquidated these claims. This issue kept alive a hostility towards the United States that ensured the failure of union projects during the War of 1812.

By the Act of 1791, the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada were created. The former was English, the latter French although there were concessions for minorities in each province. Serious revolts in 1837 indicated that profound forces of unrest were operative. A French faction, led by Joseph Papineau, attempted to create an independent republic on the St. Lawrence. Malcontents in Ontario, under the leadership of William Mackenzie, likewise rebelled. Filibustering from the American side of the Niagara led to reprisals; with the Caroline affair and the McLeod case, relations between Britain and the United States were marked by acute tension.

The Durham mission of 1838 was a direct result of the uprisings of the preceding year. The new governor was recalled when a succession of arbitrary acts provoked resentment in the provinces, but his report was published in 1839. It advocated union of the two provinces and the grant of privileges of self-government. The former recommendation was embodied in an Act of Union (1840); under the administration of Baron Sydenham, progress was made towards the second major principle of the Durham Report.

Lord Elgin's Report also advocated self-government. In 1849, the Canadian Parliament voted compensation for those who had sustained losses in the rebellion of 1837. Conservatives in Canada and Britain

protested vehemently; serious demonstrations occurred in Montreal, but the governor insisted that the parliament was within its rights as an independent legislative body. A project for the union of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia led to a conference in 1864, where a broader project of union received favorable reception. In response to the action of the conference, the British North American Act was passed and went into effect July 1, 1867. The act created the Dominion of Canada by a union of Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces. The constitution established by the act has remained in force to the present time with little modification. In contrast to the American constitution, all powers not specifically assigned to the provinces are reserved to the Dominion government. Ultimately, sovereignty is vested in the British Crown, represented by a Governor-General, appointed by the Crown for a five-year term. Limitations imposed on the Governor-General's authority by Parliament and Ministry correspond to those imposed on the king by the British government. Parliament is bicameral. A Senate made up of 24 members from each province, appointed for life by the Governor-General in Council, comprises the Upper House. A House of Commons, directly elected by universal suffrage, is the fundamental governmental organ, with a responsible ministry. Quebec has 65 members; representation of the other provinces is computed at a number which has the same ratio to their respective populations as 65 has to the population of Quebec. A Supreme Court was created in 1876; in 1891 the ministry was authorized to consult the court on questions of organic law. Each province has a ministry and a parliament; only the parliaments of Nova Scotia and Quebec are bicameral. Manitoba and British Columbia were added to the Dominion in 1870-1871, and the great central provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were incorporated in 1905.

Australia, with an area of nearly 3,000,000 square miles, is another great dominion. Claims of discovery of this great continent, lying entirely in the Southern Hemisphere, were made by French and Portuguese navigators as early as the sixteenth century. The Spanish expedition, under De Torres and De Quirros (1606), probably

sighted the mainland; accounts of Dutch navigators of the seventeenth century did much to engender interest in exploration. Tasman claimed the island which bears his name in 1642, but the claim lapsed since the Dutch government made no attempt to settle the region. The first English expedition was that of William Damphier (1688), but it was not until the memorable voyages of Captain James Cook (1769-1770) that exploration materialized in settlement. Cook's *Endeavour* anchored in Poverty Bay, New Zealand, and in April, 1770, landing was made on the shores of Botany Bay, on the Australian Coast, where the Union Jack was hoisted and New South Wales claimed for Britain. After a lapse of about twenty-five years, a period of inland exploration began.

In 1788, a penal colony was established at Port Jackson, in New South Wales; convicts furnished three-quarters of the English populace until the suspension of transportation (1839) and the discovery of gold in 1851. Governors at Sydney enjoyed despotic powers; under General Macquarie roads, bridges, and other internal improvements did much to open the area to subsequent colonization. Sheep raising was introduced early in the nineteenth century; within a few years it had become the major economic interest.

In 1825, Tasmania, which had been settled some years before (1803) as an auxiliary penal colony, separated from New South Wales. In the same year, a military station was established on King George Sound. This, with settlements on the Swan River (1827-1829), furnished the nucleus of Western Australia. A settlement was made at Port Philip in 1835; by 1851, this region separated from New South Wales as the state of Victoria. Joint stock ventures in the period 1835-1837 gave initial impetus to the settlement of South Australia.

The discovery of gold in 1851 was an event of revolutionary significance. Colonists, prospectors, and adventurers poured into the regions where strikes had been made; 2,000 arrived weekly in Melbourne. Victoria declared its independence and eight years later Queensland did likewise. Self-government was introduced; West Australia was the last state to receive this privilege (1890). Abolition

of penal settlement, the establishment of secular education, adult franchise, and vote by ballot were reforms accomplished by 1900.

Various proposals for consolidation were made in the decade 1890-1900; several abortive conventions were held. Finally, a convention met at Adelaide in 1897; the conclave adopted a plan of union that received enthusiastic reception in Victoria, Tasmania, and South Australia. Opposition of New South Wales and the consequent refusal of West Australia to enter the Union, as well as the abstinence of Queensland from participation in the convention, prevented immediate ratification of the plan. By 1899, opposition in New South Wales abated sufficiently to ensure carriage of the proposal which thereupon materialized as the Act of 1900, passed by the British Parliament.

The Act organized the Commonwealth of Australia with six component states; provision was made for reduction or enlargement that subsequently might be necessitated by consolidation or partition of any of the member states. Powers not especially granted to the commonwealth government are retained by the states. Sovereignty resides in the Crown, represented by a Governor-General. A bicameral legislature includes a Senate, made up of six representatives from each state, and a House wherein representation is apportioned on the basis of population. Australia, and, to a great degree, New Zealand, have been social laboratories for the world. The Australian ballot has secured almost universal adoption. Women received the vote in New Zealand more than twenty years before similar rights were granted in Britain. Governmental operation of railways and other utilities, governmental monopoly of banking, and progressive insurance legislation have challenged the attention of the world.

Britain restored Cape Colony in South Africa to the Dutch by the Treaty of Amiens (1802). Possession was regained by the Congress of Vienna. Many Dutch settlers became disgruntled with English rule and, as a result of the Great Trek, they founded the states of Transvaal and Orange Free State. During the Disraeli ministry, the Transvaal was annexed to Cape Colony, but under Gladstone it regained its independence. The discovery of gold in

the Transvaal resulted in the influx of British settlers, with attendant tension between English and Dutch. The British in the meantime had acquired Natal as well as Egypt and the head waters of the Nile. Cecil Rhodes, capitalist and empire builder, used his newspapers to advocate a Cape to Cairo railway; in the face of rampant British imperialism, the Dutch republics of South Africa were doomed to conquest.

In 1896, Captain Jameson, a subordinate of Rhodes, led a raid into the Transvaal; his action, however, was not inspired or supported by the British government. The raiders were repulsed by the Boers under the leadership of President Paul Kruger. The German Emperor's telegram of congratulation to Kruger accentuated Anglo-German tension. In the Boer War of 1899, after courageous resistance, the Dutch were forced to capitulate.

The Union of South Africa became effective May, 1910, as a result of the South Africa Act passed the preceding year. Provincial assemblies were abolished in favor of administrative councils for local affairs. A Governor-General, as the personification of the Crown, was installed with powers more extensive than those possessed by similar officials in Canada or Australia. A Senate of forty members was established. This body is unique in that in addition to eight elective members from each of the four states, eight are appointed by the Governor-General. Members of the House of Assembly are elected from single member constituencies; the question of single or multiple member constituencies was an obstacle that impeded the formation of the Union.

The greatest of the crown colonies is India, the British acquisition of which has been discussed in a previous chapter. Its administration has constituted a major challenge to the English governing genius. Prior to 1784, rule of India was exercised by the East India Company. Complaints of exploitation of the natives and the arbitrary actions of officials became more insistent at the very time profits of the company were dwindling. The celebrated trial of Warren Hastings brought the problem to public attention. Hastings, a company governor, was impeached by Parliament on sundry charges of malad-

ministration. He eventually was acquitted, but the revelations adduced by the lengthy proceedings strengthened demands for reform in the administration of the colony. Largely as a result of the evidence of the trial, Parliament curtailed the privileges of the company by relegating political and military authority to a board appointed by the Crown. The company retained its monopolistic privileges until 1813.

Unrest was not allayed by these reforms. The supervision of the board was too remote to be effective; expediency dictated the exercise of broad discretionary powers by the governors and these powers frequently were abused. A great native uprising, known as the Sepoy Rebellion, occurred in 1857. It began among the Sepoys, or native troops, and was quelled with pitiless severity. An aftermath of the insurrection was the reform of 1858, whereby the company was divested of its remnant of authority and privilege. The colony was placed under a viceroy, responsible to a secretary of state for India, who, in turn, as a cabinet officer was responsible to Parliament. When Disraeli, the ardent imperialist, secured control of the Suez Canal by the purchase of the shares offered by the Khedive of Egypt, Britain's eastern interests were greatly increased in value. In 1877, Victoria, in conformity with the Prime Minister's policy, assumed the title of Empress of India.

Agitation for self-government in India has become increasingly insistent; within recent years disgruntled elements have concentrated on demands for dominion status. Despite the enormous population, England has been able to frustrate these movements. Religious differences, illiteracy, and the rigid caste system have precluded the evolution of Indian nationalism on a scale sufficient to compel recognition of the demands of Gandhi and other patriot leaders. Concessions have been made, parliamentary institutions have been established but gains have been more apparent than real. Britain retains financial and diplomatic control without which self-government is illusory. India has been the most profitable of the British dependencies. Cotton, rice, and tea are the chief products. Other lucrative crown colonies are Ceylon, which produces tea, the Malay holdings, which afford tin and rubber, and the various interests in the

West Indies which are valuable chiefly for fruit. The African colonies, such as Uganda and Kenya, produce cotton and foodstuffs.

IMPERIALISM AND WORLD CONFLICT

The revival of imperialism caused frequent collision of interests among the major European powers. An instance of opposing ambitions was furnished by events in Egypt. Ishmail Pasha, Khedive of Egypt under the nominal suzerainty of the Turkish Sultan, incurred heavy debts to European banking interests, as a result of a veritable carnival of folly and extravagance. England and France jointly intervened in behalf of all foreign creditors. Economic control soon proved inadequate, with consequent extension of political powers. The serious native uprising of the Mahdi jeopardized the financial interests, with the result that England established sole control after France did not respond to invitations for joint action. When England secured the dominant interest in the Suez Canal, possession of Egypt became vital as a link in the "life line" to the east. France soon realized she had lost a great prize. Her attempt to challenge England in the Sudan precipitated the dangerous Fashoda crisis (1898). Delcassé, the French Foreign Minister, adopted a conciliatory attitude; friction between the two powers abated when England gave France a free hand in Morocco.

After the middle of the nineteenth century, Africa was rapidly partitioned among the powers. World interest in the exploration of the "Dark Continent" was aroused by Stanley's rescue of Livingstone. King Leopold of Belgium was especially active in the promotion of the exploration of the Congo. A congress was convoked at Brussels (1876) to deal with problems incident to the opening of the Congo to the penetration of foreign capital. A subsequent conference was held at Berlin in 1884; the Congo Free State was created by a protocol of the following year. Belgium, in reality, enjoyed sole control and this situation was openly recognized in 1908. The barbarous treatment of the natives in the Congo constituted one of the most revolting chapters in the history of European imperialism.

In 1881, France utilized the financial difficulties of the Bey to seize Tunis; her action aroused great indignation in Italy and was primarily responsible for the entrance of that country into the Triple Alliance (1882). Balked in North Africa, Italy turned to the east coast, where she established Eretria. Bismarck somewhat reluctantly brought Germany into the race with the acquisition of German Southwest and East Africa, followed shortly by Togoland. The more aggressive policies of the reign of William II precipitated the Moroccan crises of 1905 and 1911 which will be discussed in connection with the origins of the World War.

Clash of interests also marked European imperialism in the Far East. China under the Manchu emperors was easy prey. As a result of the Opium War of 1839-1842, England acquired Nanking, Hongkong, and special privileges in other Chinese ports. The principle of extra-territoriality was established; that is, Europeans were declared exempt from the jurisdiction of Chinese courts in the designated ports. A second war in which France also was involved materialized in the establishment of foreign legations in Peking. France, during the period of the Second Empire, seized Tientsin. Germany seized Kiachow, ostensibly in retaliation for the murder of a missionary. Growing foreign dominance precipitated a nationalistic uprising known as the Boxer Rebellion (1900-1901). Foreigners were besieged in the British legation at Peking, but were rescued by an international force sent to their assistance. Heavy indemnities were imposed; the United States permitted the use of its share to defray the costs of the education of Chinese students in American universities.

The Open Door Policy, enunciated by John Hay, did much to allay friction among the powers participating in the dismemberment of China by providing for equal trading privileges and opportunities for investment. Russia and Japan came into conflict, however, due to the extension of the former's interests into Manchuria and Korea. In the ensuing war, Russia sustained several decisive defeats; internal troubles, rather than military necessity, however, induced her to accept President Roosevelt's invitation to treat. The Portsmouth Conference awarded Japan a protectorate over Korea, which was

openly annexed in 1910. Japan, reinforced by her alliance with England (1902), emerged as the dominant factor in the Far East. Her rapid assimilation of western industrialization made her a formidable competitor in the markets of the world while her recent policies seem clearly to threaten abrogation of the "open door" principle.

XXIII

THE WORLD WAR

The World War was the most appalling catastrophe in the history of western civilization. More than 10,000,000 lives were sacrificed; millions more were maimed, warped in mind, or seared in soul. The economic waste engendered by the struggle was incalculable; the cost in terms of human anguish and the sacrifice of moral values cannot even be estimated.

Fundamental causes of the conflict have become increasingly clear as several European governments have granted access to their archives. Rampant nationalism, sedulously fostered by propaganda, imbued officials, as well as their constituents, with the conviction that national interest could best be advanced by aggressive, even belligerent, policies. Nations involved in the struggle believed that they were destined to attain security, prosperity, and cultural advance at the expense of less favored countries. The Industrial Revolution produced a demand for new markets and additional supplies of raw materials. Imperialism, with its attendant national rivalries, therefore, was greatly stimulated.

National ambitions and rivalries were projected in diplomacy which ultimately resulted in the creation of alliances. The Triple Alliance, made up of Germany, Austria, and Italy, was counterbalanced by what was, in effect, the Triple Entente, of England, France, and Russia. A succession of diplomatic crises, in the period 1878 to 1914, tightened the alliances and accentuated the divergence of interests between the two groups of powers. Alliances greatly increased the danger, since it was difficult to localize diplomatic tension. So sensitive was the equilibrium that a comparatively trivial incident could precipitate a general European war. Fear and suspicion, aggravated by secret diplomacy and unstable boundaries, led to extensive military and naval preparations. When one nation

increased the size of its army, or expanded its program of naval construction, other powers did likewise, until a dangerous competition in armaments ensued. There is no evidence that any of the nations forged these weapons in preparation for aggression. However, with nations heavily armed, with plans for mobilization in readiness, with strategy worked out in minute detail, there was naturally greater danger of resort to force when a crisis came. The Hague Tribunal was the only available institution for the arbitration and adjudication of international issues. It proved impotent to deal with a serious crisis.

PRE-WAR DIPLOMACY

The period 1870-1890 rightly has been termed the Age of Bismarck. With the close of the Franco-Prussian war, the Iron Chancellor's policies were completely successful. A German Empire, under the suzerainty of Prussia, had been founded; the attendant wave of nationalism largely had absorbed and placated liberal elements. The powerful military machine, forged by Von Roon and Moltke, had given remarkable demonstrations of its prowess. The establishment of the Empire inaugurated a period of industrial expansion that was to make Germany one of the world's greatest manufacturing nations. Annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, however, had destroyed possibility of a reconciliation with France. Austria resented the humiliations of 1866 and her consequent expulsion from the Germanic confederacy; if she allied with France, Bismarck's work even yet might be undone. The danger was all the more palpable in view of Germany's strained relations with Russia.

Since the enmity of France was implacable, Bismarck resolved to concentrate on a policy of friendship towards Austria and Russia. The fruit of this policy was the formation of the *Dreikaiserbund* of 1872. This agreement provided for defensive co-operation. It gave Germany no real assurance against attack; its chief importance was as a prelude to a closer *rapprochement* with Austria.

The *Dreikaiserbund* was dissolved by the Balkan question. In 1877, Russia utilized a series of Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria to press

her pan-Slavic policies in the Balkans. Turkey was badly defeated in the ensuing war, and by the peace of San Stefano, she was deprived of most of her European territory. The treaty precipitated a general crisis. The settlement flaunted Austrian interests in the Balkans and alarmed England and France because of the threat of ultimate Russian occupation of Constantinople. Bismarck, who professed indifference to the "Eastern Question," which he said was "not worth the bones of a single Pomeranian Grenadier," offered mediation. As an "Honest Broker," he presided over the Congress of Berlin (1878) which stripped Russia of many of the gains made by the San Stefano settlement. Bulgaria was deprived of Macedonia and Rumelia, which reverted to the Porte. Austria was assigned a protectorate over Bosnia and Herzegovina, in direct contravention to the doctrine of pan-Slavism. Russian indignation centered on Germany; Gortchakov, the Russian foreign minister, exerted himself to widen the breach, partly because of his personal enmity towards Bismarck.

It was now imperative for the chancellor to seek a stronger alliance with Austria; mutual danger from Russia made such agreement feasible, indeed, essential. In the course of the Gastein conversations, Bismarck procured the unofficial promise of Count Andrassy, the Austrian foreign minister, that if Germany were attacked by Russia, his country "would support her with all her strength." Franz Joseph and William I subsequently discussed an alliance; after the misgivings of the German emperor were allayed, the Dual Alliance (1879) was concluded. Each nation promised to aid the other in the event of a Russian attack; benevolent neutrality was to be maintained if another power was the aggressor. The immediate effect was to strengthen Bismarck's hand, enabling him to reconstitute the *Dreikaiserbund;* secret protocols to the agreement assured eventual Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as Bulgarian acquisition of Rumelia, although ostensibly the three emperors bound themselves to respect the settlement of 1878.

The Dual Alliance grew into the Triple Alliance of 1882 with the adherence of Italy. Italy long had been balked in her projected expansion in North Africa; when France seized Tunis in 1881, she

overcame her objections to affiliations with Austria. The Triple Alliance materialized after Crespi's visit to Berlin. The agreement provided for Austrian and German assistance for Italy in the event of an attack by France; Italy, in return, promised to aid Germany if attacked by France. If any two of the allies were attacked by two or more powers, the other was bound to aid. Italy insisted on the reservation that her commitments were not to be operative against England. With the "Re-Insurance Treaty" (1887), which provided for Russian assistance in the event of a French attack, Bismarck's diplomatic citadel was reared. When young William II "dropped the pilot," the deposed chancellor could point to a united nation, a prosperous citizenry contented by a program of state socialism, two decades of peace, and a foreign policy that afforded the maximum of security.

With the retirement of Bismarck, William II began to take an active part in the formulation of foreign policy. At best, his intervention was highly disturbing. His predilection for rash statements kept his ministers in a furor; naturally, the emperor's views often were interpreted as expressions of the policies of the government with consequent apprehension in the foreign offices of Europe.

England and France had drawn apart as a result of the former's policies in Egypt. What had begun as joint intervention to safeguard financial interests was transformed into sole control by Britain, largely because of England's vital interests in the Suez Canal. France accordingly drew closer to Russia. William II made no effort to "keep the wire open to St. Petersburg," as Bismarck had counselled; common enmity towards Germany therefore was a prime factor in the Franco-Russ *rapprochement.* A series of loans to the Russian government was the prelude to diplomatic amenities that developed into military conversations. By 1893, an alliance was consummated, although its terms remained secret until 1918. The agreement provided that if France was attacked by Germany, or Italy, supported by Germany, Russia was to aid, even to the extent of attacking Germany. France assumed similar obligations; she was bound to

assist Russia against Austria or Germany. Subsequent conversations completed the plans for military and naval co-operation.

With the formation of the Triple Alliance and the conclusion of the Franco-Russ agreement, England began to lose faith in her policy of "Splendid Isolation." It was difficult, however, to orient her policy towards either group of powers. William's indiscreet telegram of congratulation to Paul Kruger, president of the Dutch government of Transvaal, just prior to the outbreak of the Boer war, had repercussions which unduly magnified the incident. Likewise, the intervention of Germany in the complex Chinese situation, by the seizure of Kiachow (1898), which followed the murder of a missionary, was interpreted by Britain as a potential menace to her interests. A direct result was the conclusion of an Anglo-Japanese agreement in 1902.

Although relations with Germany were strained by the aforementioned incidents, friction with France reached an acute stage. In 1898, France seized Madagascar. The Fashoda incident of the same year brought the countries close to war. A British army, under the command of Kitchener, marched towards Khartoum in the Sudan, where General Gordon had been slain and his army besieged by natives. When Kitchener arrived at Fashoda, he found that a French army, under Marchand, had moved into the Sudan; he ordered the French flag lowered and prompt evacuation of the troops. France for a time refused to yield; each day the situation become more tense until she finally gave way to the English demands. The crisis tended to accentuate the tension of Anglo-German diplomacy. The kaiser inveighed against British greed and went so far as to suggest Russian intervention in behalf of France. Rivalry in Samoa and the first German naval bill (1898) also were disturbing factors, although as yet there was no reason to fear a major challenge to British naval supremacy.

When Germany secured concessions for the construction of the Bagdad Railway (1903), however, an insurmountable obstacle was placed in the way of improved relations with the British. Plans called for the construction of a line from Konia to the Persian Gulf. Eng-

land was confronted with the danger of a new route to the east that would largely replace her Suez route and perhaps jeopardize her possession of India. She therefore impeded the project by agreements with petty native rulers, through whose territories the line was to pass. She likewise blocked the acquisition of terminal facilities on the Persian Gulf.

With a German alliance virtually precluded, England drew towards France. French interests in Morocco were a powerful lever in the negotiations that culminated in the Entente of 1904. This agreement gave France a free hand in North Africa and recognized her possession of Madagascar. France, in return, renounced her opposition to England's control of Egypt.

The First Moroccan Crisis of 1905 tightened the Entente. Without previous intimation of opposition to French acquisition of Morocco, Germany brusquely demanded recognition of her interests and dispatched a gunboat to Tangier. President Theodore Roosevelt successfully urged convocation of the Algeciras Conference (1906) to arbitrate the issues. A settlement was evolved which, under the circumstances, was very favorable to Germany. Equality of commercial opportunities was assured, as well as participation in financial control which was to be vested in a state bank, shares of which were to be open to subscription by the interested powers. Police control in certain ports was to be exercised jointly by France and Spain. The sultan was declared to be sovereign; European interests were to be safeguarded by a Swiss Inspector-General.

Russo-British relations had become tense by 1905. During the Russo-Japanese War, the Russian fleet fired on several English fishing vessels off Dogger Bank, mistaking them for Japanese warships. A more serious matter was the Russian policy in Afghanistan which alarmed the British Foreign Office. Conversations between the kaiser and the czar for a time promised to be the prelude to an alliance. By 1907, however, the Afghanistan issue was settled to the satisfaction of England. The resultant cordiality culminated in the Anglo-Russ alliance (1907). In effect, a Triple Entente now

balanced the alliance of the Central Powers; Germany became alarmed at the threatened "encirclement."

A sharp crisis was precipitated by the Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1908). This action was in contravention to the Treaty of Berlin, although in practice the Austrian protectorate virtually had been tantamount to annextion. Russia connived at the annexation, since Izvolski hoped for concessions in the Straits by way of compensation. The implacable hostility of England to Russian control of the Bosphorus foredoomed this plan. When Serbia threatened to challenge Austria, St. Petersburg, therefore, toyed with the idea of supporting her Slav protégé, but unmistakable intimations that such action would mean hostilities with Germany caused her to desist.

Europe again came close to war as a result of the Second Moroccan Crisis of 1911. The action of France in sending troops, on the flimsy plea that they were needed to restore order in Morocco, doubtless was provocative. It was interpreted by Germany as the virtual establishment of a protectorate that would nullify the concessions procured at Algeciras. A ministerial change at Paris prevented immediate reply to German representations. The German Foreign Office, despite the kaiser's opposition, ordered a warship to Agadir and thereby greatly increased the tension. England used her influence to persuade the French to extend concessions and the danger was averted. Lloyd George, however, in his famous Mansion House Speech, gave Berlin to understand that the patience of the English government was near exhaustion; another such incident would find Britain ready to accept the challenge. With the attentions of Europe focused on the Moroccan crisis, Italy seized Tripoli (1911). Possession was confirmed by the Treaty of Ouchy of the following year.

The Balkan cauldron again boiled violently with the formation of a league that comprised Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Montenegro. In the First Balkan War (1912) the league defeated Turkey. Austria insisted upon the independence of Albania. Serbia, thus deprived of one of her anticipated rewards of the war, demanded a larger share of Macedonia from Bulgaria, but was rebuffed. Bulgaria then

treacherously attacked Serbia, but Greece, Roumania, and even Turkey, rallied to her defense. In the Second Balkan War, Bulgaria was decisively defeated and forced to relinquish a considerable amount of territory by the Treaty of Bucharest (1913). Russia's hand was strengthened by the Balkan Wars. The struggles sharpened the enmity between Austria and Serbia; Serbian *irredentanism* in Bosnia and Herzegovina was the fuse that was to touch off the great explosion of 1914.

On June 28, 1914, the Archduke Ferdinand, heir apparent to the Austrian throne, visited Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital. The visit had been planned a year in advance. Serbian conspirators, members of a Black Hand organization consecrated to the liberation of their fellow-nationals from Austrian rule, came to Sarajevo, with the passive connivance of their government, to assassinate him. While the archduke was being escorted to the city hall, one of the conspirators tossed a bomb into the tonneau of his motorcar. The archduke quickly threw the deadly missile from the car; it exploded amid his bodyguard. The officials proceeded with the formal exercises. On the way back to his hotel, the archduke expressed a desire to visit the hospital to inquire about the condition of those injured by the bomb. His chauffeur misunderstood his instructions and turned off the main thoroughfare. When he realized his mistake, he reversed the car but stalled the engine. Princip, one of the conspirators, thereupon stepped down from the curb and emptied his revolver point blank at the archduke and his wife; both were killed.

The world knew that Austria would demand satisfaction from Serbia commensurate with the gravity of the incident. There seemed little reason, however, to fear a general European crisis. When, on July 23, Austria presented her ultimatum to Belgrade, however, tension increased to an alarming degree. Compliance with the Austrian demands would have been equivalent to curtailment of Serbian sovereignty. Austria, reassured by the promise of German support in whatever course she adopted, was adamant, although she realized that a declaration of war against Serbia would mean war with Russia. Serbia rejected the ultimatum on July 24; four days

later, Austria declared war. Germany attempted to dissuade Russia from mobilization, but the czar, unable to resist the importunities of his ministers and generals, ordered general mobilization on July 30. Germany countered by mobilization and declaration of war. In the meantime, she demanded that France clearly declare her intentions and withdraw her forces from the frontier if she planned to remain neutral. France responded by an order for mobilization. England had vainly tried to localize the struggle. When Germany, now a formidable naval power, invaded Belgium, England entered the war.

All the major powers must share the guilt of precipitating the tragic struggle. Austria clearly evinced a desire to force a war with Serbia. The Serbian government was ready to accept practically all the terms of the ultimatum, despite the fact that she was given but forty-eight hours to reach a decision; yet Austria, in the face of the efforts of the powers to dissuade her, declared war in the full realization that her action was almost certain to produce a general war. Germany had endorsed Austria's "blank check," committing herself to support her ally before fully learning of her policy in the Serbian crisis. It is true that Berlin attempted to restrain Austria, but such action came too late to be effective. Then, too, it is likely that the German Foreign Office was partially cognizant of Austria's intentions towards Serbia even before the ultimatum was released. Russian mobilization destroyed the last hope of localizing the struggle; doubtless assurances of French support hastened the order for mobilization. England vacillated at the critical moment; unqualified announcement of her intention to stand by her allies might have caused Germany to hesitate, but Sir Edward Grey would give no clear statement of Britain's stand prior to the invasion of Belgium.

The war opened with Germany's smashing drive on Paris. The Von Schlieffen plan, which was used with modifications that went a long way to bring about its failure, called for the invasion of France through Belgium. It was hoped that France would be crushed sufficiently rapidly to enable the withdrawal of German divisions to the eastern front to defend East Prussia against Russian invasion. The German General Staff had estimated that Russian mobilization would

be sufficiently slow to make the plan feasible. Belgium, however, refused to permit the passage of the German forces through her territory, despite promises of subsequent compensation. The heroic resistance of the little Belgian army retarded the German advance and challenged the admiration of the world. Germany's wanton violation of the treaties guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium turned world opinion against her; atrocity stories, many of them pure fiction, did much to crystallize this sentiment. The German military machine showed startling power. Her great siege guns pulverized fortresses in a few hours; lighter artillery unloosed devastating barrages, squadrons of planes zoomed aloft to drop bombs loaded with explosives of terrible power. The fall of Paris seemed imminent; the French government moved to Bordeaux as a precautionary measure. In September (1914), however, the French, commanded by Joffre, arrested the German advance at the decisive Battle of the Marne. In the meantime, the Russians mobilized with unexpected speed and began an invasion of East Prussia. Their advance was stopped by Hindenburg and Ludendorf at the Battle of Tannenberg, where the Russians were crushed with prodigious losses.

During 1915, Turkey culminated her secret affiliation with Germany by a declaration of war. Bulgaria likewise entered the war on the side of Germany and Austria, but Roumania joined the Allies. Italy, at best, had been a recalcitrant member of the Triple Alliance and consequently was not expected to support the Central Powers at the opening of the war. In 1915, however, she joined with the Allies, the desire to acquire the Trentino doubtless being the determining factor in her decision. The major campaign of 1915 was in Gallipoli. Here for months a British army and fleet hammered futilely away at the impregnable fortresses. Allied armies on the western front remained practically idle, thus enabling diversion of German divisions to the defense of the Straits. The abortive campaign well illustrated the paramount need for unity of command.

English sea power, augmented by the fleets of her allies, enjoyed complete mastery. Germany was effectively cut off from supplies of munitions, raw materials, and foodstuffs, whereas the Allies could

purchase virtually unlimited supplies from the United States and other neutral countries. The German battle fleet, whose officers often had toasted the day when England's naval supremacy would be shattered, was bottled up in the Kiel base. On only one occasion were the German vessels able to elude the vigilance of the blockade, but they were intercepted off Jutland by English squadrons, under the command of Beatty and Jellico. The Germans gained a tactical victory in the Battle of Jutland, the only major naval encounter of the war, but fundamentally the English were victorious, since the Germans abandoned their projected attack on the English coast and returned to their base.

The war on the western front was virtually a stalemate from 1915 to 1916. Advances of a few miles were made only subsequently to be lost. Defensive tactics were so efficient as to militate against a decision. Great battles raged for days, with appalling loss of life, yet the end of the war seemed as remote as ever. Introduction of new offensive weapons, such as poison gas and tanks, was tentative and experimental, therefore the element of surprise largely was sacrificed and defensive measures were available before the full power of the new weapons was unleashed. For months, the Germans pounded at Verdun; their casualties reached the staggering figure of approximately 800,000; French losses perhaps were half that high.

Elevation of Marshal Foch to supreme command of all the allied forces introduced the co-ordination so sadly lacking in the early years of the war, but allied attacks were frustrated by the seemingly impregnable Hindenburg line. Allied fortunes had reached a low ebb by 1917. There was a growing dispostion to seek a negotiated peace in view of the apparent impossibility of securing a decisive result. Germany's submarine warfare was beginning to exact a heavy toll, the withdrawal of Russia from the war by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk as a consequence of the Revolution of April, 1917, was a terrific blow. At this juncture America entered the struggle.

American public opinion had veered sharply to the allied side with the violation of Belgian neutrality and the atrocity stories sedulously disseminated by allied propaganda agencies. Submarine

warfare, which had horrified the world with the sinking of the *Lusitania,* produced mounting indignation; President Wilson's protests were unavailing. Declaration of unrestricted submarine warfare by the German admiralty was the major factor in precipitating the decision of the American government to enter the war.

Germany's desperate efforts to win the war before American troops could be brought to the front came to naught. With the arrival of the expeditionary forces under the command of General Pershing, Marshal Foch began a terrific counter attack that proved irresistible. Germany eagerly grasped the opportunity to end hostilities by the conclusion of an armistice (November 11, 1918) that made impossible resumption of the struggle. The Conference of Versailles was convoked to draw up the definitive peace.

XXIV

POST-WAR YEARS

The Versailles Treaty

Compliance with the terms of the armistice left Germany powerless to renew the war, even if public opinion could have been mobilized in support of such folly. The imperial government had been overthrown; the newly organized republic was in a precarious position, due to the continuance of the allied blockade, the acute food shortage, and the imminent menace of communism. The allied and associated powers were in complete accord on the principle that the peace which was to reconstruct Europe was to be an imposed peace. Germany was not to be represented at the Paris Conference. A complete treaty was to be presented for her acceptance in its entirety, with renewal of hostilities as the alternative. There was to be no German Talleyrand to extort concessions from the divergent ambitions of the victorious powers. President Wilson's "Fourteen Points" had been tentatively accepted by the allies as a working basis for the treaty; Germany apparently had signed the armistice with the expectation that Wilson's principles would be embodied in the definitive peace.

Twenty-seven allied and associated powers were represented at the conference which was officially opened on January 18, 1919; the date chosen was the anniversary of the coronation of William I as Emperor of Germany. Hosts of experts were busily engaged in the preparation of data for the accredited representatives of the respective governments. There were ethnologists, geographers, historians, economists, and experts in every field of knowledge that was expected to expedite the work of peace-making. President Poincaré of France acted as temporary chairman; Georges Clemenceau, the fiery premier who had so resolutely combatted French defeatism, was elected as permanent president of the conclave.

Plenary sessions obviously were impossible in view of the number of nations represented and the diversity and complexity of the problems to be discussed. It was a foregone conclusion that the nations which bore the brunt of the war would assume the leading rôles in the determination of the terms to be submitted to the vanquished. Two groups of powers accordingly were formed. France, Great Britain, the United States, Italy, and Japan were recognized as nations "with general interests." A Council of Ten with two representatives from each power was to deal with all question of "general import." All other nations participating in the conference were classified as "powers with special interests"; their representatives were to be consulted whenever such interests were under discussion. A drafting committee was set up to prepare in final form the decisions of the Council of Ten. About fifty other committees were in operation, the most important of which were those on the League of Nations, Reparations, and Territorial Settlements. Even the Council of Ten proved too unwieldy. In March, it was dissolved; henceforth, Clemenceau, Wilson, Premier Lloyd George of Great Britain, and Orlando, Premier of Italy, constituted the "Big Four" who, in informal conversations, determined all major decisions. Japan was represented in all discussions affecting the Far East. The aphorism "Congress dances" could not be applied to the Paris conclave; the deliberations were conducted in an atmosphere of gravity, in the knowledge that each day of delay in bringing the conference to a conclusion aggravated the perils confronting Europe.

Five serious crises arose during the negotiations. The first was precipitated by the question of the disposition of colonies seized from the defeated nations. Wilson, committed to the doctrines of national self-determination, resolutely opposed annexation. The system of mandates was evolved as a compromise. Colonies were classified and mandates over them awarded on a reasonably equitable basis; the recipients of the mandates were responsible to the League of Nations for the administration of these territories, with the understanding that self-government would be granted when warranted.

When the conference opened, all major powers were at least nominally in favor of the organization of Wilson's cherished League of Nations. The American president came into conflict with his colleagues of the "Big Four" on the question of incorporating the League Covenant in the treaty. The premiers advocated conclusion of the treaty, after which the covenant could be discussed. Wilson, however, realized that signature of the treaty would largely terminate his influence and accordingly insisted that the League be organized by the treaty and be inextricably entwined with it. His view eventually prevailed when he went so far as to hint at withdrawal from the conference; to attain his end, however, he found it necessary to make concessions that widely deviated from his "Fourteen Points" and the ideal of "Peace without victory."

Reparations constituted another vexatious problem. Since the conference proceeded on the thesis that Germany was responsible for the war, it was logical to assess not only actual but punitive damages. The original principle was that Germany should be liable for all damages sustained by the civilian populace of the victorious powers; this subsequently was modified to include damages incurred by all who returned to civil life at the conclusion of hostilities. The modified principle, of course, admitted pensions. No realistic attempt was made to arrive at a definite figure; this doubtless was a major mistake of the conference.

Italy, in conformity with the secret London Treaty, received the Trentino, part of Dalmatia, and the territory she desired in the Tyrol. Nevertheless, she insisted on the additional award of Fiume. Wilson was adamant and his stand was supported by the British Premier, although Orlando for a time withdrew from the conference. Shortly after the signing of the treaty, a group of Italian patriots seized Fiume and confronted Europe with a *fait accompli.* The Fiume issue was complicated by the Shantung controversy that arose about the same time. Japan desired possession of German interests in the peninsula, including Kiachow. China, on the other hand, demanded its return to her. The issue finally was settled by awarding Shantung to Japan with a proviso for its recession to China, on condition that

Japan retain all the economic interests formerly possessed by Germany.

France demanded security against renewed aggression by Germany. A proposal for the creation of an internationalized left bank on the Rhine ultimately was discarded. France accepted security guarantees from England and America, and a fifteen-year assignment of the resources of the Saar Basin in compensation for losses of coal and iron sustained by German occupation. German disarmament and demilitarization of the Rhinelands for a distance of more than thirty kilometers east of the river were added safeguards.

On May 7, 1919, the treaty was presented to the German delegates. Great indignation was aroused in the *Reich* by the apparently unexpected severity of the terms; the ministry resigned rather than assume responsibility for their acceptance. Clemenceau's statement that the time for negotiation had passed summarized the attitude of the allies; Marshal Foch was ready for immediate invasion in the event of refusal. German delegates appointed by a new ministry accepted the Treaty on June 28, in a dramatic ceremony in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles. France was adequately avenged for the humiliation of 1871.

The treaty, issued in both French and English versions, contains 440 clauses. Germany ceded Alsace-Lorraine to France; Eupen and Malmedy went to Belgium. A large part of East Prussia went to the newly constituted Poland. Danzig was placed under the jurisdiction of the League and connected to Poland by a "corridor" that detached East Prussia from the rest of Germany. Germany moreover was stripped of her colonies; she lost her interest in the Bagdad Railway, while her Kiel Canal was partially internationalized. Shipping tonnage was surrendered to compensate for damages incurred by the allies as a result of submarine warfare. Deliveries of coal and surrender of rolling stock were exacted as reparation for destruction of mines and railways. The German army was reduced to 100,000 regular soldiers, serving minimum enlistments of twelve years. The 4,000 officers were to serve minimum terms of twenty-five years. The *Reich,* moreover, was deprived of submarines and military planes.

The equally severe Treaty of St. Germain terminated hostilities with Austria. Austria lost Bohemia and Moravia to Czecho-Slovakia, surrendered her Balkan possessions to Jugo-Slavia, and recognized the independence of Hungary, with which the Treaty of Trianon was concluded by the allies. The Treaty of Sèvres made peace with Turkey; the most difficult question proved to be the disposition of Smyrna which the treaty assigned to Greece. After some discussion of a mandate for Constantinople, the Turks were left in possession, with provision for the demilitarization of the Straits.

When Wilson submitted the treaty for ratification by the Senate, opposition led by Senators Lodge and Borah centered on American commitments to Europe under the League Covenant. The president's decision to attend the conference had been against precedent. Colonel House, his intimate friend and adviser, played a leading part in the framing of the treaty; the fact that he was admitted to the full confidence of the president, although he occupied no position in the government, was doubtless a blunder. Wilson attempted to mobilize public opinion in the west by a speaking tour, under the strain of which he collapsed. The disclosure of Secretary of State Lansing's divergence from the president's views forced the resignation of the cabinet officer and strengthened the Senate irreconcilables. The Senate refused to accept the Covenant without reservations which Wilson rejected as vitiating. The result was failure to ratify the Versailles Treaty; the refusal of America to enter the League dealt a severe blow to the prospects for its success. Separate treaties ultimately officially terminated belligerency between the United States and the nations against which war had been declared.

FAILURE OF INTERNATIONAL IDEALISM

The Covenant of the League of Nations was embodied in the first part of the Versailles Treaty. The major powers, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, were represented on the Council, the most important organ of the League. The United States was also to be represented on the Council, but, as has been pointed out, all efforts to bring her into the organization have failed. All other member

nations were assigned representation in the Assembly. Geneva was selected as the center for the League's activity. A permanent Secretariat discharges routine business. A World Court was established as the judicial organ of the League, while an International Labor Office was set up to carry out its great humanitarian objectives. Collective action was to be utilized in the event of war or the threat of war. The League was to denounce aggression and mobilize world opinion. In the event moral suasion was unavailing, economic sanctions were to be imposed, with joint military action visualized as a last resort. In 1922, a disarmament conference was held at Washington. Great Britain, America, and Japan adopted the 5-5-3 ratio and accepted restrictions on building programs. The Nine Power Treaty promised to stabilize conditions in the Far East.

The issues of reparations and French security, however, disrupted Europe and militated against the success of efforts towards international amity. The extent of Germany's liability for reparations was left to a commission for determination. Eventually, the commission tentatively fixed the amount at $55,500,000,000. Germany countered with an offer of $7,500,000,000 which was refused. A compromise figure of $33,000,000,000 was then mutually accepted. It must be remembered, however, that Germany had been shorn of her colonies and much of her merchant marine, while a material portion of her natural resources was appropriated to satisfy the retributive clauses of the treaty. Payment in goods was discouraged by tariff and quota barriers. In effect Germany was expected to pay enormous indemnities while deprived of the means by which the payments could be effected. The German Republic followed the inflationary policies inaugurated by the imperial government, until complete financial prostration ensued. France, faced with recurrent deficits and unwilling to face a prolonged deflation, insisted that the last farthing be extracted from the vanquished. England drew away from her erstwhile ally on the issue. Germany had been one of Britain's best customers prior to the war; it was vital, therefore, that no insuperable obstacle be placed in the way of her economic recovery. France and Belgium thereupon decided upon independent action. An army was

sent into the important German industrial area of the Ruhr (1923). The Germans countered with a policy of passive resistance. Shops and mines closed, transportation facilities suspended operation. The army of occupation did nothing to settle the reparations issue; instead, it further postponed Germany's recovery, accentuated Franco-German bitterness, and drove a deep wedge between the French and British. Financial reorganization of the *Reich,* in accordance with broad plans formulated by a commission headed by Charles Dawes, an American banker, was then consummated, but continued protestations of German inability to pay led to the adoption of the more lenient plan proposed by Owen D. Young, a leading American industrialist.

The reparations tangle was complicated by the question of allied debts to the United States. Suggestions for reductions in reparations in return for commensurate scaling down of allied obligations were rebuffed by Washington. American policy adhered to the doctrine that war debts and reparations were unrelated. Liquidation of the issue came with the proclamation of President Hoover's moratorium. When the American government offered a suspension of debt payments contingent upon suspension of reparations; the offer was accepted with alacrity. The allied governments have, in effect, repudiated their obligations to the United States and reparations have become a dead issue. America has thus been the ultimate loser.

France, at the Conference of Paris, demanded the creation of an internationalized left bank of the Rhine. She was induced to abandon this position, with the German demilitarization of the area and the promise of a security pact with England and the United States. The American government subsequently refused to undertake responsibility for French security; Britain's adherence to the pact was contingent upon American acceptance and accordingly was withdrawn. French fears mounted as a result of the tension with Britain incident to the occupation of the Ruhr, which also had the effect of producing in Germany desire for guarantees against further French aggression. The Locarno Pact of 1925 materialized from this situation. France, Belgium, and Germany were mutually bound to refrain from aggres-

sion; England and Italy signed the agreement as guarantors. The Kellogg-Briand Pact was an instance of the semi-mystic efforts for peace which characterized the period 1925-1929. It outlawed war with reservations, however, in favor of defensive wars, the only kind that are ever waged, according to modern foreign offices.

The League and its ancillary organs did little to promote international confidence. As an aftermath of disappointment with the Versailles settlements, Lithuania seized Memel, while D'Annunzio and his Italian patriots occupied Fiume. Although these acts were in contravention to the letter and spirit of the Covenant, the League confined its activities to futile gestures. It proved equally impotent to deal with the questions of Corfu and the Sudan. The first major blow to the prestige of the Geneva organization, however, was the Japanese seizure of Manchuria, which ultimately was placed under the nominal rule of a puppet emperor. Vain appeals were lodged with the League by the Chinese government. The bombardment of Shanghai by the Nipponese was a wanton defiance of the vital principles of the League. When a committee, appointed by the League at the request of Tokio, reported its findings, Japan renounced her membership. The apathy of the major European powers during the Sino-Japanese crisis promises ultimately to be costly in that Japan is asserting a virtual "Monroe Doctrine" in the Far East that inevitably will entail abrogation of the "Open Door" principle.

The plebiscite and return of the Saar to Germany enhanced the League's prestige, but the recent Italian conquest of Ethiopia has probably sounded its knell as a material factor in the preservation of peace. Confronted with a patent aggression, the diplomats at Geneva frittered away months in tortuous negotiations. England, indeed, actuated primarily by fear of Italian ambitions in the Mediterranean, concentrated a fleet at Malta, but her bluff merely heightened European tension without retarding the Ethiopian campaign. Economic sanctions finally were applied against Italy, but not until the Ethiopian prize was practically in the hands of the invaders. When the exiled Ethiopian emperor arose, in the very place consecrated to the defense of helpless nations against spoliation, to chide the powers

for their vacillation and pusillanimity, he was greeted with jibes and vituperation from Italian journalists. Europe had repudiated the ideals which it was once believed the prodigious sacrifices of the war had attained.

A number of causes contributed to the failure of the League. It was by its very nature bound to come into conflict with nationalism. The rise of totalitarian states, under dictators like Stalin, Hitler, and Mussolini, has carried nationalism even beyond pre-war extremes. This great resurgence of nationalism alone probably would have stultified League efforts towards international security and accord. Then, too, the League has lacked the adherence of major nations. It began without Germany, Russia, and the United States; the tardy admission of Germany came to naught with her subsequent withdrawal and repudiation of the disarmament clauses of the Versailles Treaty. Russia, however, was admitted and has remained in the organization. The connection between the League and the Versailles Treaty was a mistake of prime magnitude in that it was pushed into the position of an agent for the enforcement of a treaty that embodied in many of its clauses seeds of friction. No major European power was willing to do more than prate about disarmament. Despite the perennial conferences, armies, navies, and air forces were steadily increased; today, Europe is engaged in a deadly race in armaments. Diplomacy by conference naturally weakened the League. The alliances, implied or acknowledged, that have ensued are strongly reminiscent of the period 1870-1914.

THE CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY

Within the last decade, the emergence of collectivism has placed democracy definitely on the defensive. Totalitarian states have been formed in Russia, Italy, and Germany, with ideals completely at variance with democratic principles.

Russian history in the nineteenth century, as we have seen, was marked by a slow advance towards the attainment of political and social liberalism. The inherent weakness of Russian autocracy, plus the permeation of liberal ideas from more enlightened countries,

were primarily responsible for this tendency. Advance, to be sure, was painful; gains frequently were cancelled by reaction, but as crises such as the war with Japan illustrated the ineptitude of autocracy, the goal of constitutional monarchy loomed near. The World War, however, came when autocracy was weakened, but the new institutions were not yet completely evolved. Collapse of the existent regime was the price exacted by the war from technical backwardness, administrative incompetence, and the graft that permeated every branch of czarist officialdom.

The reactionaries, led by the Czarina Alexandra, frustrated hopes that the admission of the Duma to larger participation in the conduct of governmental affairs would ameliorate the incompetence responsible for major military disasters. Capable and patriotic advisers were dismissed; the czarina came under the virtual dominance of Rasputin, a renegade monk who had made himself indispensable by his apparent power to arrest the attacks of haemophilia which the czarevitch suffered. Rasputin was probably a traitor as well as a defeatist; his baneful power did much to precipitate the Revolution.

Serious food shortages in the capital aggravated the discontent engendered by the strain of recurrent military reverses. When rioting began, the garrison rebelled; rebellion became revolution. On March 14, 1917, a *soviet* or committee of workers was formed; on the following day, a provisional government was organized by liberals in the Duma in collaboration with the *soviet.* Two days later, Czar Nicholas II abdicated. The main strength of the new government came from the Mensheviks, or moderate socialists, led by Kerensky.

The Bolsheviks, or radical socialists, however, clamored for the immediate enthronement of the proletariat. Their leader was Nicholai Lenin, a noble by birth, who had endured exile to Siberia for his advocacy of the tenets of Karl Marx. He and his lieutenant, Leon Trotsky, were sent into Russia by the German government. It was hoped that the consequent discord would lead to the withdrawal of Russia from the war. In the meantime, the Kerensky regime was being foundered by military defeats, industrial prostration, and uprisings of the peasantry. By the *coup d'état* of November 9, 1917,

the Bolsheviks gained control; the following March, the peace of Brest Litovsk was concluded with the Central Powers. A reign of terror ensued during which aristocrats, *bourgeoisie,* and intellectuals were slain or driven to flight. The imperial family was murdered in a cellar.

Four principles comprised the program of the Bolshevist leader. First, all industry and business became the property of the state. Second, all social classes were to be brought to the common proletarian level. Third, religion was to be suppressed, and, fourth, government based on the traditional concept of the state was to yield to the *soviet* or vocational plan. A constitution was prepared and partially put into effect; citizenship was the prerogative of all workers over eighteen, housewives of workers, those incapacitated for work, and those who served in the army or navy. The Communist Party, through its central committee, was the real governing organ, however. In 1922, with the recovery of several provinces that had seceded, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics was formed. Following the death of Lenin (1924), Joseph Stalin, a Georgian with long experience in political intrigue, emerged as the dominant figure of the Central Committee; at the time of writing, he is the supreme dictator, although evidence that his power is on the wane is not wanting.

In 1928, the First Five Year Plan was formulated. Its objective was to modernize Russian industry. Superficially, the plan seems to have been successful, yet at a cost of unparalleled regimentation of workers and crushing burdens on the recalcitrant peasantry whose crops have been requisitioned so that exports of agricultural commodities could pay for importation of machinery. A second "Plan" is now under way; under it, the workers are to realize the material comforts they eschewed ostensibly to secure the success of the first program. The ultimate significance of the Russian experiment cannot be estimated; it may be transitory, an ephemeral experiment, or it may be a triumphant world movement.

Democracy had no adequate testing in Italy before the exigencies created by the war led to the emergence of the *Fascist* regime. In

the years immediately following the close of the war, socialism and communism gained considerable ground. Industrial strife was rampant, often materializing in disastrous strikes and sabotage. Even the normally stolid peasantry were prey to the prevalent unrest and disorder. Resentment against the settlements of the Versailles Treaty found ready expression in nationalistic fervor.

With a large portion of the Italian people disgruntled with conditions both at home and in the international sphere, Benito Mussolini assumed the leadership of the *Fascist* party. The term refers to the *fasces* or bundle of rods carried as a symbol of authority by the magistrates of ancient Rome. The *Fascists* recruited their strength from the propertied classes; they were dedicated to the restoration of order, the preservation of private property, and the enhancement of the international prestige of the Italian nation. Mussolini, well educated, although of humble parentage, had been a newspaper editor prior to the war. After a distinguished military career, he returned to journalism upon the conclusion of hostilities. He renounced his earlier socialistic views and devoted his energies to the arrest of trends which were pointing to the collapse of the nation.

On October 28, 1922, the Black Shirts, recruited primarily from war veterans and the middle class, marched on Rome and seized control of the government. A Grand Council, headed by Mussolini as prime minister, was organized; King Victor Emmanuel was retained as a figurehead. Powers of the legislature were curtailed and eventually abrogated. Today Mussolini is the Italian government. Representative and responsible governing institutions have disappeared; dissent has been ruthlessly crushed. Step by step, the industrial and commercial interests have been subjected to complete control. The state is all-embracing—the citizen exists only to serve it. On the other hand, salutary advances have been made in education. The conclusion of a Concordat with Pope Pius XI in 1929 resulted in the creation of the sovereign Vatican City and the partial solution of issues that troubled the Italian government since 1870. Programs for the modernization of agriculture and the reclamation of waste lands have ameliorated the hardships of the peasantry.

Although opposition cannot be articulate, it seems that the dictator has the support of the populace. Of course thousands of exiles condemn the death of democratic principles and the disappearance of individual liberties.

Within the past year, it has become apparent that the grandiose ambitions for Italian expansion so often expressed by *Il Duce* have not been bluster. Ethiopia has been conquered in the face of England's stern warnings and the bustling impotence of Geneva. A powerful military machine has been forged; boys of eight have been put under military discipline. Italian expansion in Africa is considered an acute menace by Britain, which also has been forced to visualize her loss of supremacy in the Mediterranean, since the development of the great Italian air armada has made Malta and Gibraltar vulnerable.

The foundation of the Third *Reich* in Germany has also been marked by dictatorship and the economic regimentation. The collapse of the imperial government was the direct resultant of the war. Kaiser Wilhelm and the dominant army leaders had closely identified themselves with the winning of the struggle; their repudiation naturally followed defeat. President Wilson dealt another severe blow when he insisted that no peace negotiations could be conducted with the autocratic regime which he persistently disassociated from the German people. Terrible hardships engendered by the allied blockade sapped national morale; the contagion of the Russian Revolution likewise played a part in producing manifestations of discontent that permeated the civilian populace as well as the armed forces. On November 9, 1918, the Kaiser abdicated and a republic was thereupon proclaimed by the dominant Socialists. The "Majority Socialists" held to the view that the establishment of a republic and political democracy was to antedate efforts to attain the economic objectives of Socialism whereas the "Independent Socialists" opposed these conservative policies. Danger of bolshevism, however, brought the factions to agreement for the convocation of a constitutional convention which materialized in the Weimar Constitution.

The government of the republic, under the Weimar Constitution, retained the federal concept. Representation of the constituent states

was provided, as before, in the *Bundesrat,* the powers of which, however, were greatly curtailed. The *Reichstag,* or lower house, was the core of the new government. Members were elected by universal suffrage on a basis of properly apportioned representation. Its legislative powers were subject to only a suspensive veto by the upper house; it had control of financial policies. Executive functions were vested in an elected president and a chancellor, responsible to the *Reichstag.* By the "emergency clause" the president was authorized to assume virtually untrammeled powers. The government, under the leadership of President Ebert, then inaugurated a series of economic and social reforms, most of which, however, failed to ameliorate the plight of the laboring and middle classes because of the financial collapse of the period 1920-1924. The financial debacle probably could have been averted had the question of reparations been dealt with by the allies in a realistic fashion. Reconstruction began with the Dawes and Young plans for economic rehabilitation as a prerequisite to payment of reparations, while the Locarno Pact seemed to afford security against French aggression that had culminated in the invasion of the Ruhr. Industrial recovery proceeded with astonishing rapidity although financed largely from abroad.

World-wide economic depression and political turbulence were primarily responsible for the abrogation of the Weimar Constitution and the advent of the *Nazi* regime. Disaffected monarchists in 1920 and again in 1922 had attempted *coups* which the government suppressed with practically no efforts to preclude the recurrence of such uprisings. Communists carried on subversive activities with little hindrance from the government. There was growing opposition to the Versailles Treaty which the reparations issue had served to concentrate. The Youth movement identified itself with the cause of treaty revision and the restoration of German prestige in the comity of nations. With the election of General Hindenburg as president in 1925, the conservative *Junkers* seemed destined to recover all their former power while the army again began to exercise a dangerous degree of political influence.

Disaffected elements rallied to the cause of the National Socialists (*Nazis*). The party strength was recruited primarily from the army, the middle class, and the post-war generation. *Nazi* policies included demand for repudiation of the restrictions imposed by the treaty which were considered derogatory to German sovereignty and prestige, anti-Semitism, and the extirpation of communism. In Adolf Hitler the party found its leader. A German Austrian, his early life was a story of failure and discouragement. During the war, he earned the Iron Cross, a decoration for valor, but did not rise above the rank of corporal. His moving eloquence and passionate, almost fanatical dedication to the principles of the party, advanced him to a position of leadership. Attempts to curb his growing power by offers of a cabinet portfolio were spurned; conscious of the rising strength of his party as represented in election returns and *Reichstag* seats, he preferred to bide his time. In the election of 1932, he ran as candidate for president; only Hindenburg's enormous personal popularity enabled him to win.

A governmental crisis was precipitated with the removal by President Hindenburg of Chancellor Bruning, who earlier had refused to resign in conformity with an adverse vote in the *Reichstag*. Von Papen and Schleicher were successively elevated to the chancellorship; Hitler refused the office except on his own terms. Finally on January 30, 1933, the president was forced to call on Hitler to assume office on conditions that made him virtually a dictator. In March, the *Reichstag*, dominated by the *Nazi* majority, passed an Enabling Act giving legal sanction to the powers *Der Führer* had assumed. Upon the death of President Hindenburg (August, 1934), Hitler assumed the office which had been bereft of power since his rise to the chancellorship. As in the case of Italy, force has stilled dissent. The brownshirted "Storm Troops" are at the beck and call of the *Nazi* leaders while the army, even the "Steel Helmets," formerly adherents of the *Junker* and monarchist cause, have been won over.

A series of diplomatic crises has followed the rise of Hitler to power. Protestations of pacific intentions have done little to allay fears aroused by the repudiation of the armament restrictions imposed

by the treaty, the apparent *Nazi* designs on Austria, and the withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations. Persecution of Jews has incited condemnation throughout the world. The ruthless suppression of dissenters by the intimidation and violence of Storm Troopers, "purges," and concentration camps, has demonstrated how completely the ideals of democracy have been repudiated.

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